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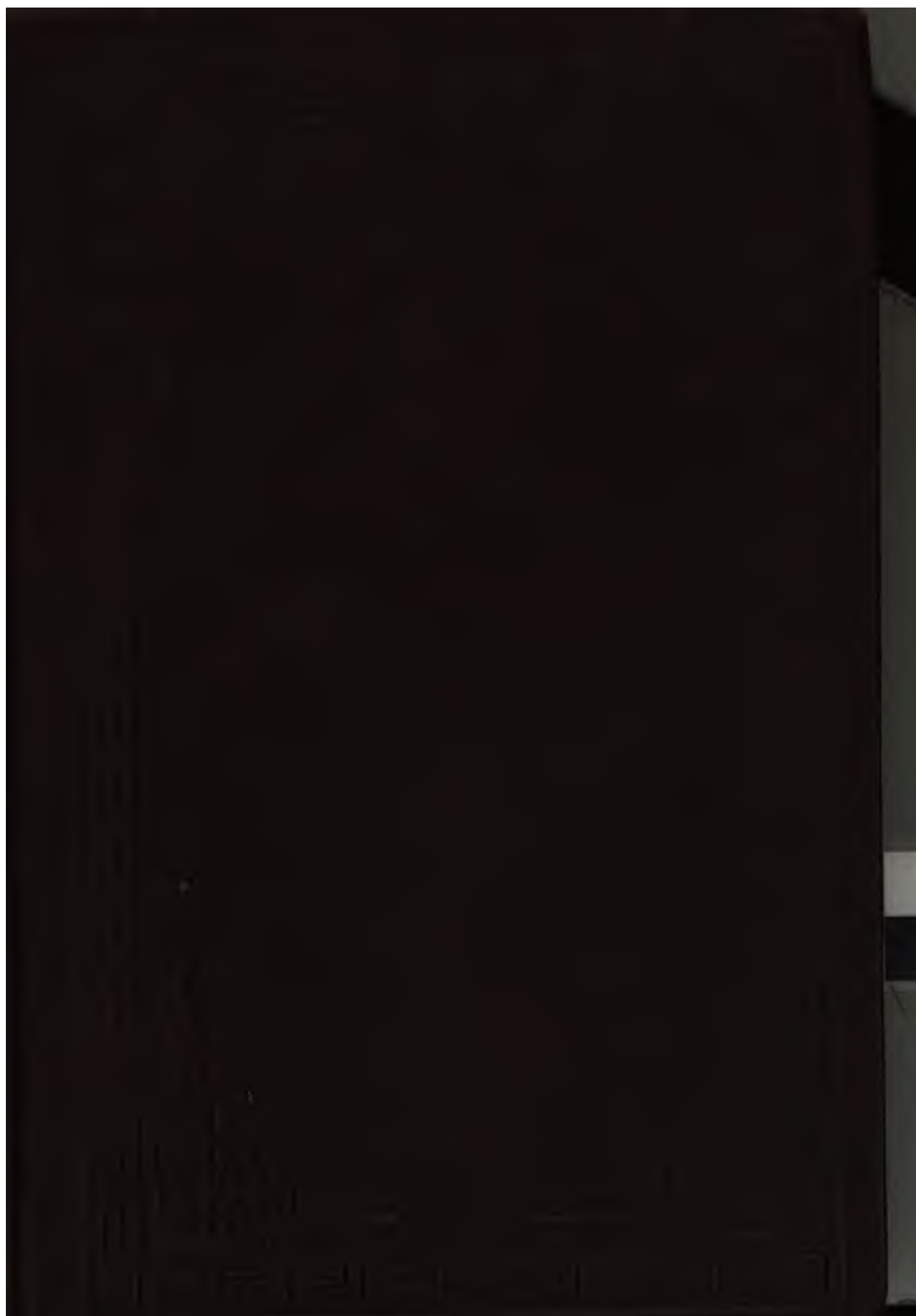
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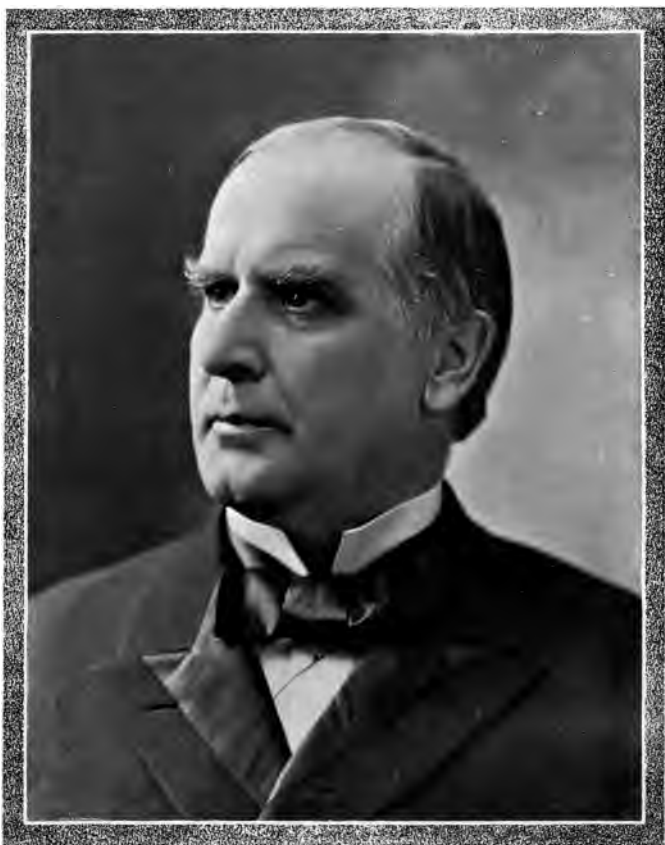
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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



Yours Very Truly
Wm. G. Trukey

THE LIVES
OF
WILLIAM McKINLEY
AND
GARRET A. HOBART

Republican Presidential Candidates of 1896

AN AUTHORIZED, IMPARTIAL, AUTHENTIC, AND COMPLETE HISTORY
OF THEIR PUBLIC CAREER AND PRIVATE LIVES

FROM BOYHOOD TO THE PRESENT DATE

WITH

**Anecdotes, Incidents, Personal Reminiscences, Graphic
Pen-Pictures, and Thrilling Story**

CONTAINING ALSO

THE COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FROM ITS RISE
TO THE PRESENT TIME; THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED
STATES AND ITS FORMATION; AND A COMPLETE SUMMARY
OF THE LIVES OF ALL THE PRESIDENTS,
FROM WASHINGTON TO CLEVELAND

By HENRY B. RUSSELL

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND FULL PAGE ENGRAVINGS

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TO
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

WHICH
CONTROLLED THE DESTINIES OF A GREAT NATION
FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY,
SAFELY GUIDED IT

In the Greatest Era of Progress the World has ever Known,

AND
ON WHICH TO-DAY THE HOPES OF A PATRIOTIC
PEOPLE DEPEND,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED.

.....



POPULAR interest is justly attracted to the life and work of men selected by their party as candidates for the highest honors in the gift of a great nation. They are men who represent the political purposes of millions of patriotic people; and their personality, the incidents of their careers, their rise to popularity and fame become subjects of interest to all. It is the object of this volume to tell the story of the Republican presidential candidates of 1896, to record facts, incidents, and experiences that will reveal the character of the men and enable us to see them as they are.

The story of William McKinley's life cannot fail to appeal to the minds and hearts of all who believe in their country. His is a career which well exemplifies the possibilities of American citizenship. Starting without the advantages of wealth or high station, he has made himself what he is. Nearly the whole of his active life has been

devoted to his country. Beginning as a soldier in the ranks thirty-five years ago, he served with distinction till the close of the war, and in the long and honorable public career that followed he has steadily won his way from obscurity to high position and world-wide fame. In these years he has identified himself with a public policy never so fondly cherished by the people as now. His name has become a household word, and even if destiny should have no higher honors in store for him, his fame will endure in the annals of the best government in the world. It is impossible to obscure the interest in the story of such a busy, eventful, and honorable life.

Likewise does the career of Garret A. Hobart exemplify one of the best phases of American citizenship, persistent and energetic business ability, activity in the productive enterprises of a great people, a capacity for honest executive management to which the interests of others are entrusted.

To further enhance the usefulness of the book, chapters have been added to tell the story of the formation of the Constitution, of the origin and work of the great political party in which the candidates have taken so conspicuous and honorable a part, and to briefly sketch the lives of the Presidents. Taken together, these pages furnish a review of the history of the country for more than a hundred years — as seen through its great men.

To Major McKinley and his friends thanks are due for many acts of kindness and assistance in the preparation of

this volume. He seldom talks about himself, leaving that to his friends, and few public men have so many devoted ones as he. Special pains have been taken to obtain from those who have known him for years the most reliable information regarding his life and public services, and to secure accuracy of statement. Major McKinley was asked, and kindly consented to examine the proofs, though it should be said he is responsible for no comment or construction of mine upon his words or public acts. Deserved eulogy is the exclusive right and privilege of the biographer, and that he owes to the man whose career he has studied with growing interest and admiration.

HENRY B. RUSSELL.



MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL.



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

From Special Photographs made expressly for this Work, and
from Original Designs by Eminent Artists.

| | PAGE. |
|--|-------|
| 1. PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY, <i>To face Title.</i>
(From his latest photograph.) | |
| 2. AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY, | 2 |
| 3. MAIN ENTRANCE TO UNITED STATES CAPITOL, | 10 |
| 4. SOUTH VIEW OF THE WHITE HOUSE, | 34 |
| 5. ORNAMENTAL HEADING TO CHAPTER I, | 35 |
| 6. MUSKET CARRIED BY WILLIAM MCKINLEY DURING THE
WAR, <i>To face</i> | 64 |
| 7. MCKINLEY IN HIS KNIGHT TEMPLAR'S UNIFORM, | 64 |
| 8. PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY, SR., | 64 |
| 9. PORTRAIT OF MRS. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, SR., | 64 |
| 10. MCKINLEY'S REGIMENT AT THE BATTLE OF SOUTH MOUN-
TAIN. — COLONEL (AFTERWARDS PRESIDENT) RUTHER-
FORD B. HAYES WOUNDED, | 75 |
| 11. MCKINLEY SERVING HOT COFFEE TO HIS REGIMENT IN
THE THICKEST OF THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, <i>To face</i>
"Every man in the regiment was served with hot coffee and warm
meats, a thing which had never occurred under similar circumstances in
any other army in the world. He passed under fire, and delivered with
his own hands these things so essential for the men for whom he was
laboring." — Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes. | 82 |
| 12. ONE OF THE BRAVE DEEDS ON THE BATTLEFIELD FOR
WHICH MCKINLEY WAS PROMOTED. <i>To face</i>
"His Ohio comrades never expected to see him alive again. Once he
was completely enveloped in the smoke of an exploded shell, but his
wiry horse emerged from it with McKinley firmly seated." | 100 |

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| 13. MCKINLEY SAVING UNION ARTILLERY AT THE BATTLE OF KERNSTOWN, <i>To face</i> | 104 |
| "McKinley called for volunteers, and every man stepped out. Their example invigorated the whole regiment, which took hold at once and hauled the guns and caissons off in triumphal procession." | |
| 14. CHARGE OF MCKINLEY'S REGIMENT, THE TWENTY-THIRD OHIO, AT THE BATTLE OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN, | 111 |
| "A gallant charge was made by the whole regiment, and the enemy was dislodged and driven into the woods." | |
| 15. GENERAL SHERIDAN BEFORE MCKINLEY'S REGIMENT ON HIS FAMOUS RIDE TO WINCHESTER, | 123 |
| 16. PORTRAIT OF MRS. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, <i>To face</i> | 138 |
| 17. THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL, | 161 |
| 18. THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL, FROM THE EAST, <i>To face</i> | 188 |
| 19. THE SENATE CHAMBER IN THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL, | 217 |
| 20. THE UNITED STATES TREASURY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, | 277 |
| 21. BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY, AT NILES, OHIO, <i>To face</i> | 312 |
| 22. PRESENT RESIDENCE OF MR. AND MRS. MCKINLEY AT CANTON, OHIO, <i>To face</i> | 312 |
| 23. MRS. MCKINLEY'S ROOM IN THE CANTON RESIDENCE, <i>To face</i> | 324 |
| 24. WILLIAM MCKINLEY IN HIS STUDY IN THE CANTON RESIDENCE, <i>To face</i> | 324 |
| 25. PORTRAIT OF GARRET A. HOBART, <i>To face</i> | 336 |
| 26. MAIN APPROACH TO THE WHITE HOUSE FROM PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, | 431 |
| 27. FRONT VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, . . . <i>To face</i> | 444 |
| 28. THE CABINET ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE, <i>To face</i> | 454 |
| All Cabinet meetings are held, and important national questions are discussed by the President and his Cabinet in this room. | |
| 29. THE GREAT EAST ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE, <i>To face</i> | 468 |
| (Public receptions are given by the President in this room.) | |
| 30. THE GREEN ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE, . . . <i>To face</i> | 482 |
| 31. THE BLUE ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE, . . . " " | 498 |
| 32. THE RED ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE, . . . " " | 498 |
| 33. THE LIBRARY IN THE WHITE HOUSE, . . . " " | 514 |
| 34. THE STATE BEDROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE, . . " " | 526 |



CHAPTER I.

THE MCKINLEY FAMILY—BRED IN CONTESTS FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

William McKinley's Scotch Ancestry—Descended from Macduff, who Killed Macbeth—The McKinlay Clan and McKinlay the Trooper—"Not too Much"—The McKinlay of whom Burns Sang—Emigration of James and William McKinley to this Country about 1742—Northern McKinley's and Southern McKinleys—William McKinley's Great Grandfather in the Revolution—Workers in Iron Industry—McKinley's Mother—Thorough Patriots, 35

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH AND BOYHOOD — EARLY INFLUENCES IN THE MCKINLEY HOME AT NILES.

The Birthplace of McKinley and its Associations—Influences of His Father and Mother—No Chances for Idleness in the McKinley Family—William and his Share in the family Woodpile—A More Bookish than Boyish Boy—The Household Library—Standard Works of History—Shakespeare a Favorite—Dickens for Fiction—Seizing every Opportunity for Study—After-dinner Readings in the Family Circle—Every Night, Some Member of the Family Read Aloud for an Hour—Early to Bed and Early to Rise—Father McKinley a Whig, Free Soller, and Protectionist—He Talked Politics with his Children—Religious Influences, 45

CHAPTER III.

EDUCATION—REMOVAL TO POLAND AND A CHANGE
OF ENVIRONMENT.

McKinley's Brief Attendance at a Common School—Removal of the McKinley Family to Poland—William Enters the Seminary at Nine Years of Age—Some of the Teachers and their Influence upon McKinley—His Sister Annie—McKinley Takes to Greek and Latin—Avails Himself of an Opportunity to Study Hebrew with a Methodist Minister—A Literary and Oratorical Development—The Literary Society at the Seminary—Ringling Debates on Burning Questions of the Hour—Scrupulous Care in the Maintenance of the Society's Room—No Trespassing on the New Carpet, except in Slippers—McKinley a burner of Midnight Oil—Passing the Examination to Enter the Junior Class at Allegheny College—Ill Health—Clerk in a Country Store, 53

CHAPTER IV.

A VOLUNTEER IN THE RANKS AT EIGHTEEN—ENLIST-
MENT AT YOUNGSTOWN.

Exciting Events Following McKinley's Winter as a Teacher—President Lincoln's Call for Volunteers—A Hearty Response from Ohio—The Gathering of the Poland Boys at the Sparrow House—The "Poland Guards" and their March to Youngstown—McKinley could not at first get the Consent of his Parents—His Determination on Returning from Youngstown to go to the War—He Pleads his Cause in the McKinley Family and Conquers—Returns to Youngstown and Enlists—The Famous Twenty-third Ohio—Old Muskets Provided for the Boys—At first Refused but Accepted after a Speech from Major Hayes—McKinley Carries his Musket through the War—Its Safe Keeping now at Canton—The Twenty-third Ordered to West Virginia—Their first Engagement a Victory Over the Rebels—What McKinley Says of It, 60

CHAPTER V.

A SERGEANT AT NINETEEN — FIERCE WARFARE FOR
MCKINLEY AND HIS COMRADES.

Severe Trials in Winter Quarters — McKinley Promoted to be
Commissary-Sergeant — His Strict Attention to Duty —
Executive Ability Recognized by his Commanders — Eulogized
by General Hayes and General Hastings — The Breaking up
of Camp — Advance upon the Enemy — A Brave Defense —
Cut off from Supplies — Hunger in Camp — A March of One
Hundred Miles in Three Days under a Burning Sun — The
Ride to Washington — A Hot Fight at South Mountain —
Three Desperate Bayonet Charges — McKinley's Own Ac-
count of the Battle, 70

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND LIEUTENANT AT NINETEEN — PROMOTED FOR
BRAVERY AT ANTIETAM.

Antietam, the Bloodiest Day of the Civil War — The Hard Struggle
around the Corn-field Surrounded by Woods — Varying For-
tunes of the Day — No time for Rest or for Refreshment —
Famished and Thirsty — Stragglers give Commissary-Ser-
geant McKinley an Idea — Two Mule Teams Loaded with
Hot Coffee and Hot Meats — McKinley's Brave Dash under
Constant Fire — Cheers for McKinley and his Coffee — Fight-
ing with Renewed Energy — The Day Won — McKinley
Promoted to be Second Lieutenant for his Gallantry — Head-
ing off Morgan's Remarkable Raid — The Terrible March to
Join Crook, 79

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST LIEUTENANT AT TWENTY — BATTLE OF CLOYD
MOUNTAIN.

McKinley's Rapid Promotion — Made First Lieutenant — His
Tact and Ability — Debates in Winter Quarters — The Ex-
pedition to Join General Crook — Tiresome Marches over a
Rough Country — Skirmishes with the Enemy — A Dash

across the Meadows, through the Stream, and up the Hill —
 Slaking the Water out of their Boots — A Terrible Charge
 and a Murderous Fire — Scaling the Fortifications — Hand to
 Hand Struggle in the Fort — Rebels Driven Out — Burning the
 Bridges — Crossing the Alleghanies Four Times and the Blue
 Ridge Twice — Marching a Day and all Night without
 Sleeping, 28

CHAPTER VIII.

McKINLEY AT KERNSTOWN — A RIDE IN THE FACE OF DEATH.

Deceived as to Early's Movements — Crook's Troops Left Alone
 in the Field — Worn Out by Hard Marches and Fighting —
 Aroused by the Booming of Cannon on a Bright Sunday Morn-
 ing — Preparing for the Battle — Ohio Men Led to the Front of
 the Line — Lieutenant McKinley one of the Staff Officers —
 Gallant Resistance of the Staff Brigade — Hayes Sends
 McKinley on a Dangerous Mission — He Gallops across the
 Field in Front of the Enemy — Shells Burst about him and
 Cannon Balls Plough the Ground in his Path — Saving the
 Guns from the Enemy — He comforts an Old Lady, . . . 95

CHAPTER IX.

A CAPTAIN AT TWENTY-ONE — AID-DE-CAMP ON SHERIDAN'S STAFF.

McKinley's Quick Promotion after his Heroic Conduct at Kerns-
 town — Made Captain of one of the Bravest Companies in the
 Twenty-third — Acting on Sheridan's Staff — Daily Skirmishes
 in the Shenandoah Valley — Fierce Engagement at Berryville
 — McKinley's Horse Shot under him — Firing Stopped
 by the Surgeons and Burial Parties — Battle of Opequan —
 Must Cross a Slough or Die — Fierce Charge up a Steep
 Bank — Reinforcements from the Cavalry — Complete Dis-
 persion of the Rebels — McKinley's Quickness of Action and
 Good Judgment — Battle of Fisher's Hill, . . . 107

CHAPTER X.

A MAJOR AT TWENTY-TWO—CLOSE OF McKINLEY'S FIGHTING DAYS.

Battle of Cedar Creek—The Sound of Firing at Sunrise—Sheridan Starts for Winchester—Meeting Stragglers Going to the Rear—His Push to the Front—Rides up to McKinley as he is Rallying his Troops—Asks McKinley for Crook—Together they Gallop off to Find Crook—Cheers from the Troops—McKinley Helps Sheridan Take off his Overcoat—The Charge Against the Enemy—Rebels Swept out of Camp—Disaster Turned to Victory—McKinley Accompanies Crook to West Virginia—Brevetted Major for Bravery at Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek—Mustered out, . . . 116

CHAPTER XI.

HOME AGAIN—McKINLEY ENTERS CIVIL LIFE, AND BECOMES A LEADING LAWYER.

Advised by General Carroll to Continue his Military Career—A Strong Temptation—Finally Concludes to Study Law—Long Hours over his Law Books—Going to Youngstown to Recite—Anxious to Support Himself—His Sister's Sacrifice—Admitted to the Bar at Canton in 1867—His first Law Case—Twenty-five Dollars, Too Much—Partnership with Judge Belden—His Reputation as a Lawyer Quickly Made—Thoroughness in Preparing Cases and his Success with Juries—Legal Contest with John McSweeney—The Bowlegged Man who lost his Case for Damages, . . . 126

CHAPTER XII.

HIS MARRIAGE—THE FIRST AND ONLY ROMANCE OF McKINLEY'S LIFE.

Ida Saxton and her Family—Her Grandfather a Newspaper Man, and an Editor for Sixty Years—Her Father a Banker, Capitalist, and Leading Man of Affairs—His Practical Ideas of

the Training of Women — Three Years his Assistant in the Bank — Her Beauty and Attractive Qualities — Trip Abroad — Return and Social Life — The Belle of the Town — Young Lawyer McKinley Distances his Rivals — Just the Man Father Saxton Wanted — Their Marriage — Early Home Life — Death of their Two Children — Her Health fails — Removal to her Old Home — William McKinley's Devotion — Reluctant to Enter Politics — Mrs. McKinley Urges him to do so — Believed it was his Duty, and that it was his Future, . 136

CHAPTER XIII.

A CONGRESSMAN AT THIRTY-FOUR — RECOGNITION QUICKLY WON.

McKinley the Man who was wanted for Congress — "Old Stagers" do not Consider him a Possibility — He goes into the Campaign for Nomination and Wins in every County — Nominated on the First Ballot and Elected — Astonishment in Venerable Circles — Entered Congress at an Important Period — Settlement of Reconstruction Questions — McKinley put at the Bottom of a Poor Committee — Attracted Attention when he Spoke — What Blaine Said of him — His First Tariff Speech — Attack on the Wood Bill that Opened the Eyes of his Colleagues — His Thorough Knowledge of the Subject Displayed — McKinley Still a Quiet, Studious Man — His Time Mostly Spent at his Rooms with Mrs. McKinley and his Books, 144

CHAPTER XIV.

PLANTING THE BANNER OF PROTECTION — IN THE FORTY-SIXTH AND FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESSES.

McKinley's District Gerrymandered — Three of his Old Counties Taken Away, and Three Strange Counties Given to him — McKinley Accepts Renomination — Elected by 1,300 Majority — His Speech for Free and Fair Elections — Temporary Chairman of the Republican State Convention at Columbus — On the Ways and Means Committee — The Tariff Commission and its Report — The Bill of 1883 — McKinley's Tilt with Hewitt and

CONTENTS.

xix

with Springer — Hewitt Compelled to Admit that Wages Depended upon Protection — McKinley's Fidelity to his Constituents not Measured by the Support they Gave him, 154

CHAPTER XV.

UNSEATED BY DEMOCRATIC HOUSE — HORIZONTAL TARIFF REFORM DEFEATED.

Democratic Landslide of 1882 — Grover Cleveland Comes to the Front — McKinley in his Old District — McKinley's Opponent Elected by only Eight Votes — Judge Folger Thinks them a Good Many — Carlisle Elected Speaker — McKinley's Opponent Contests his Seat — The Morrison Bill for Horizontal Tariff Reduction — McKinley Shows up its Inconsistencies and Absurdities — Calls it the Invention of Indolence and the Mechanism of the Botch Workman — "They Toil not Neither do they Spin" — The "Carlisle Shape" — Prediction Regarding Tariff Reduction on Wool and Woolens — The Ohio Convention — McKinley Elected a Delegate — A Blaine Man — Returns to Washington — He is Unseated, 166

CHAPTER XVI.

A NATIONAL CHARACTER AT FORTY-ONE — THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1884.

McKinley Made Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions at Chicago — Speaks Seldom but Attracts Attention — Comes to the Front at a Critical Hour and Prevents Adjournment of the Convention — Blaine Nominated — Campaign of 1884 — John Sherman Re-elected Senator in Ohio in 1885 — McKinley's Prediction Concerning Cleveland's Administration — Believes in Offensive Republicanism — No Stragglers — His Speech in Virginia for ex-Confederates — The "Bloody Shirt" — Congress Meets — Carlisle again Speaker — McKinley Defends Labor Arbitration — Suspects the Reason for Hoarding the Surplus — Attacks Cleveland's Message, 177

CHAPTER XVII.

MCKINLEY AND THE MILLS BILL — FREE TRADERS DEFEATED IN THE FIFTIETH CONGRESS.

The Protectionist at Boston — Description of the Man who has Outgrown his Country — Another Bond Resolution — McKinley Exposes the Administration's Purpose — Mills Bill Presented — McKinley's Minority Report — The Majority Gives no Information to the Minority — Denounced by McKinley — Closing Day and a Brilliant Spectacle — Discourtesy of Mills to Randall — McKinley Yields Time to the Pennsylvanian — Cheers for the Ohioan — McKinley's Speech — Discomforting the Free Trader — Leopold Morse Caught in a Trap — McKinley Purchases a Ten-Dollar Suit at Morse's Store — "You, Sir, Have Closed the Debate," 188

CHAPTER XVIII.

A QUESTION OF HONOR — LOYALTY TO JOHN SHERMAN IN 1888.

McKinley Heads the Ohio Delegation to Chicago — Receives Marked Attention — Cheered when he Enters the Hall — Unmistakable Tide towards him — The Thrilling Scene on Saturday — Thrusting Aside the Honor as a Delegate Pledged to Sherman — The Tide Turned — His Personal Appeal to Various Delegations — Pleading with the Connecticut and New Jersey Delegations — Blaine's Final Letter and Harrison's Nomination — McKinley Becomes a Leader of the Fifty-first Congress — Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee — Preparing the McKinley Bill, 205

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MCKINLEY BILL — THE GREAT MEASURE OF THE FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

McKinley's Modesty in Speaking of his Own Achievements — His Associates Trust him Implicitly — His Belief the Basis of the

CONTENTS.

xxi

Act—How it was Framed—No Interest Refused a Hearing—Working on Schedules until after Midnight—His Associates Marvel at his Powers of Endurance—A Brilliant Scene on the Day he Presents the Measure—His Speech Listened to with the Greatest Attention—Protection a Conviction, Not a Theory, with Him—The Passage of the Bill—It Becomes an Act—McKinley's Control of the Measure in the House—His Able Management of Men—The Most Harmonious Tariff Act Ever Put on the Statutes, 216

CHAPTER XX.

THE CONGRESSIONAL DEFEAT OF 1890—MCKINLEY'S FAITH UNSHAKEN.

The Last Democratic Gerrymander to "Down" McKinley—The Democratic Gibraltar of the State Attached to his District—Defeat of McKinley the only Hope of Tariff Reform—McKinley Accepts the Nomination against Great Odds—Never Withdraws from his Party or its Principles—His Speech of Acceptance—A Campaign of National Interest—A Democratic Vote-Getter Opposed to him—David B. Hill and Others Stump the District—The Democratic Majority Whittled Down—Days of Waiting—Jubilant Democrats and Free Traders Hooting and Jeering in Front of McKinley's Office—McKinley Calm and Unmoved—Some Republicans Waver in their Faith—McKinley's Editorial, . . . 230

CHAPTER XXI.

ELECTED GOVERNOR IN 1891—MCKINLEY COULD NOT BE DOWNED.

McKinley Returns to Washington—His Defeat Really a Victory—Regarded as a Hero Rather than a Victim—Keeping up the Cry about "McKinley Prices"—His Reply to President Cleveland Concerning "Cheapness"—The Tariff Reformer Uncovered—Campaign Prices Convicted as Campaign Lies—Republican Sentiment Turns to William McKinley as a Candidate for Governor—Demand for an Open Air Nomination by

Acclamation — A Notable Convention — Foraker's Speech — McKinley's Speech in Accepting — The Campaign Opened — Reviews the Parade from the Porch of the House in which He was Born — Discussing the Financial Issues — The Success of the McKinley Bill — Prosperity of the Country, . . . 239

CHAPTER XXII.

CONVENTION, CAMPAIGN, AND DEFEAT OF 1892 — FAITH STILL UNSHAKEN BY ADVERSITY.

McKinley Inaugurated as Governor — A Delegate at Large — McKinley Permanent Chairman of the Convention — Another Embarrassing Situation — Efforts to Use McKinley to Defeat Harrison — Foraker Announces Forty-four Votes for McKinley and Two for Harrison — Another Roll Call with the Same Result — McKinley Leaves the Chair and Moves to Make Harrison's Nomination Unanimous — Receives One Hundred and Eighty-two Votes under Protest — Campaign of Misrepresentation — McKinley Bill Maligned — People Vote for a Change — Republicans Waver — McKinley Exhorts them to be Firm — Only a Cross Current, 250

CHAPTER XXIII.

McKINLEY AS GOVERNOR — EXCITING TIMES IN OHIO — TWO ACTIVE AND EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATIONS.

A Popular Executive Officer — Securing the Best Men for State Institutions — The State Board of Arbitration — Governor McKinley's Part in its Formation — Its Valuable Services — Exciting Times in the Second Administration — Upholding the Dignity and the Laws of the State without Exciting the Hostility of the Laboring Classes — Lynching not to be Tolerated in Ohio — The Dark Year of 1894 — Distress among the Miners — Appeals to the Governor for Help — A Midnight Despatch and a Carload of Provisions — He Assumes the Responsibility for Payment — Investigation into the Distress in Mining Districts — Intelligent Distribution of Supplies — Several Serious Labor Difficulties, 259

CHAPTER XXIV.

PERSONAL REVERSES—DEVOTION AND SELF-SACRIFICE OF MRS. MCKINLEY—THE MAN OF THE NATION.

A Thunder Clap from a Clear Sky—McKinley is Found to be an Endorser on Notes of an Old Friend to the Extent of over One Hundred Thousand Dollars—Turns over all his Property—Mrs. McKinley Contributes her Fortune—"My Husband's Debts are Mine"—Contributions Come in from the People—McKinley Returns them—The Final Settlement—Every Creditor Paid in Full where McKinley was Liable—His Re-nomination by Acclamation for Governor—The Democratic Opponent—A Warm Campaign—McKinley Re-elected by over Eighty Thousand Plurality—His Trip to Chicago—Speech at the Reunion of the Army of Tennessee—Ohio Day—McKinley Rides his Famous Horse, "Midnight," in the Parade—Received by Cheers Everywhere, . . . 268

CHAPTER XXV.

MCKINLEY AS A CAMPAIGNER—HIS REMARKABLE TRIP IN THE FALL OF 1894—"PROTECTION" HIS BATTLE-CRY.

Always in Demand as a Campaign Speaker—After the Panic of 1893—Overwhelmed with Invitations from all Sections—Wonderful Enthusiasm of his Audiences—A Flying Trip to Chicago—Speaking to an Indiana Crowd of Two Thousand from a Car Platform with the Thermometer below Zero—Addresses the Students of Chicago University—Speaking at the Auditorium—Eulogies of Washington and Lincoln—The Fall Campaign—Speeches in Nineteen Different States—One Hundred and Fifty Thousand People Hear him in Two Days in Kansas—Speaking Seventeen Times in One Day—Addressing the Working-men before Breakfast—His Journey of over Two Thousand Miles to New Orleans to Make one Speech—His Reception by the Southerners, . . . 276

CHAPTER XXVI.

VOX POPULI—THE SWEEP OF THE TIDE OF PUBLIC
OPINION—"McKINLEY OUR NEXT PRESIDENT."

Significance of a Popular Demand for One Man—The Turning of the Tide—Democratic Heavy Guns Turned on McKinley—McKinleyism Becomes a Badge of Honor—The Democrats Try to Make it a Term of Reproach—Why the People Flocked to See and Hear the Ohio Man—His Opportunity had Come—Republicans Everywhere Volunteer their Support—The Ohio Convention—His Candidacy Officially Announced—The Canvass Placed in Mark A. Hanna's Hands—Hanna's Business Sagacity—States Left Free to Express Themselves in their Own Way—The McKinley Managers—Every Effort to Check the Sentiment Strengthens it—Favorite Sons—A Majority of the Delegates. 291

CHAPTER XXVII.

McKINLEY'S NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT—SCENES AT
THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1896.

Culmination of a Popular Movement—Story of the Great Republican Convention at St. Louis—Roll Call for Nominations—Foraker Nominates McKinley—The Mention of his Name Followed by a Half Hour of Cheering—A Pandemonium of Cheers and Shouts—An Animated Scene—Unavailing Efforts of the Chair to Restore Order—Fifteen Thousand People Sing Patriotic Songs—The Nomination Seconded by Senator Thurston—His Brilliant Speech—"The Shibboleth for this Campaign is 'Protection'"—A Good Story—"Hurrah! Hurrah! We Bring the Jubilee!"—Result of the Ballot—McKinley Receives 661½ Votes—Cheers and Huzzas Rend the Air—Making the Nomination Unanimous—Chauncey M. Depew's Felicitous Speech. 298

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HOW McKINLEY RECEIVED THE NEWS OF HIS NOMINATION — WILD DEMONSTRATIONS OF JOY AT CANTON — REJOICING THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Preparations at Canton for Receiving the News — Connecting McKinley's Residence with the Convention Hall by Telephone — Awaiting the News — An Expectant Little Circle — The Clicking Telegraph at Work — McKinley Coolly Reads the Despatches — His Comments upon Them — The Vote — Jotting Down the Fateful Figures — McKinley's Nomination Assured — The Boom of a Distant Cannon — A Notable Celebration — Receiving Congratulations — McKinley's Reply to his Neighbor's Address — He is Deeply Moved — Called upon by a New York Delegation — McKinley's Welcome to Them — "Keep Close to the People" — The Great Principle which has Given us "Plenty and Prosperity." 312

CHAPTER XXIX.

McKINLEY'S HOME LIFE — HIS DEVOTION TO HIS WIFE AND AGED MOTHER.

Present Home of Major and Mrs. McKinley at Canton — The House to which he Took his Wife as a Bride — Domestic Afflictions — Where their Children Died — A Home around which Sacred Associations Cluster — McKinley's Work-room — How it is Furnished — The Touch of a Woman's Hand Everywhere — Enormous Daily Mail — His Kindliness and Manliness — How he Receives his Visitors — The Charm of his Manner and Speech — Untiring Devotion to his Wife — Their Life in Washington — How Mrs. McKinley Assists her Husband — Her Tastes and Accomplishments — Her Unostentatious Charities — Hands that are never Idle — McKinley's Mother — His Filial Love — Walking to Church with his Venerable Mother on his Arm — Watching her Son's Career with Pride. 321

CHAPTER XXX.

THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN—MCKINLEY IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE—AN UNSTAINED RECORD.

**His Personal Appearance—Should be Seen to be Fully Known—
A Man who Works but does not Worry—His Dress—The
Bronze Badge of the Grand Army of the Republic—A Man
of Unusual Power—Henry Irving's Inquiry, "Who is that
Man?"—His Astonishing Feats of Memory—His Faculty
of Remembering Faces—An Incident at a Hartford Dinner
Party—"I Know you"—His Cordial Manners and Unaf-
fected Simplicity—His Capacity for Sustained Mental Ef-
fort—How he Prepares his Principal Speeches—His Keen
Insight into Human Nature—A Champion of the Dignity and
Elevation of Labor—His Profound Sympathy—An Incident
in his Army Life—He Becomes a Freemason—Interesting
Circumstance Attending his Initiation into the Order—His
Public Life an Open Book—A Spotless Public Career—A
Man of Attractive Personality and Blameless Life—Keeping
in Close Touch with the People. 328**

CHAPTER XXXI.

**GARRET A. HOBART—A NATIVE NEW JERSEY MAN—
MAKING HIS OWN WAY—BECOMES A LEADING
LAWYER.**

**Birth at Long Branch—English and Dutch Ancestry—His
School Days—Graduates from Rutgers College at Twenty
Years of Age—Earning his Way—A School Teacher—Goes
to Paterson—A New Suit of Clothes and \$1.50 his Entire
Capital—Studies Law in the Office of Socrates Tuttle—
Friendship of Mr. Tuttle for Hobart's Father—An Agreement
that his Child, if a Boy, should Study Law with Mr. Tuttle—
Made a Member of the Tuttle Family—Jennie Tuttle—
Young Hobart is Fascinated—They are Married—Hobart's
First Law Case—Steady Progress—Becomes a Leading
Lawyer. 335**

CHAPTER XXXII.

HOBART'S POLITICAL CAREER—FOREMOST LEADER OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN NEW JERSEY.

Hobart's Legal Ability and Political Acumen Demonstrated — Sent to the Legislature in 1872 — Becomes Prominent — Re-elected in 1874 — Becomes Speaker — Important State Questions — New Jersey and the Railroads — State Senator in 1876 — "The Brilliant Young Senator from Passaic" — Made Chairman of the Republican State Committee — Attention Attracted to Hobart's Political Skill — Incidents of a Warm Fight — Delegate to National Convention of 1884 — Placed on the National Committee — Made one of its Executive Members — A Trusted and Honorable Political Worker — His Nomination for Vice-Presidency.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HOBART AS A BUSINESS MAN AND PUBLIC CITIZEN — MRS. HOBART AND THE HOME LIFE AT CARROLL HALL.

An Able Man of Affairs — A Bankrupt Railroad Placed on a Successful Basis — His Co-operation and Services Sought by Numerous Enterprises — Uniformly Successful in his Management — A Generous Man and a Peacemaker — Other Characteristics — His Home Life — Mrs. Hobart — Handsome, Accomplished, and Inheriting her Father's Keen Intellectuality — Death of their Daughter Fannie in Italy — Garret A. Hobart, Jr. — Carroll Hall — A Model of Refined Elegance — The Hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Hobart — Their Charities.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

REPUBLICAN PROGRESS—EVENTS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF A GREAT PARTY.

Growth of the Country under Republican Administrations — Slavery at the Time of the Revolution — Toleration of the System — British Proclamations — Slavery Preserved by a Yankee Invention — Whitney's Cotton Gin — Potentiality of Individual Action — The Missouri Compromise — The War with Mexico and its Results — Admission of California — What the South Threatened — Features of the Compromise of 1850 — The Battle for Freedom in Kansas — Song of the Emigrants — "Westward the Course of Empire," 383

CHAPTER XXXV.

FORMATION AND GROWTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Dissolution of the Whig Party — The "Know Nothings" and their Principles — Origin of the Republican Party — The National Conventions — Election of 1856 — Abraham Lincoln — Dramatic Incident at Bloomington — A Thrilling Event in Political Organization — Harmonizing Differences — Brooks and Sumner — The Dred Scott Decision — The Charleston Convention — How the Democratic Party was Sundered — The Election of Lincoln — The War and its Results — Recent History of the Party, 394

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS HISTORY.

Preliminaries to the Struggle for Independence — The Convention of 1765 — Articles of Confederation — The "Declaration of Rights" and other Papers — The Continental Congress — Work of the Committee of Five — The Beginning of the War — Minutemen — Washington's Statesmanship — Formation of the Constitution — Opposition to its Adoption — The Bulwark of the Republic — Text of the Constitution — Amendments and their History, 407

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES — SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION.

His Remarkable Modesty — Opposed to Slavery although a Slaveholder — The Country Bordering on Anarchy — Quarrels between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists — Not a Partisan Himself — His Virtues Derived from His Mother — Mount Vernon an Inheritance from His Brother — His Sense of Justice — Love of Truth and Personal Honor — Farewell Address to His Army — His Admirably Balanced Character — Washington's Cabinet, 420

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

JOHN ADAMS, SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Not by any Means so popular as His Predecessor — Elected by Three Votes Only — The Country Beginning to be an Independent Nation — Commencing Life as a School Teacher — His Wife a Remarkable Woman — Adams a Vigorous Speaker and Pointed Writer of Cholerick Temper — Bitter Hostility between Parties — Employed on Delicate Missions — Extremely Active in Political Life — One of the First to see a Final Rupture with the Mother Country Inevitable, 438

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

His Pride in the Authorship of the Declaration of Independence — The First Genuine Democrat — His Radical Revision of the Laws of Virginia — The Final Treaty of Peace — His Views Opposed to Hamilton's — Genest's Extraordinary Conduct as French Minister — Love of France and French Institutions — Jefferson and Aaron Burr Receive the Same Number of Votes for President — Simplification of Customs and Manners — His Dislike of Titles — His Personal Appearance, . . . 444

CHAPTER XL.

JAMES MADISON, JAMES MONROE, AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Conciliatory Character of Madison's Administration — His Opinions on the Federal Government — His Charming Wife — Decline and Death of Federalism — Monroe's Election Almost Unanimous — His Gallant Service in the Field — Wounded at Trenton — The Era of Good Feeling — Monroe's Views of Coercion — Bitter Disputes with Great Britain Leading to the War of 1812 — The Fifth President's Successful Efforts to Restore the Public Credit — He Dies Involved in Debt — Adams' Early Advantages and Experiences, 454

CHAPTER XLI.

ANDREW JACKSON, MARTIN VAN BUREN, AND WM. HENRY HARRISON, SEVENTH, EIGHTH, AND NINTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Jackson the First Unmixed Democrat — His Election Regarded in Virginia and Massachusetts with Surprise and Disgust — His Uncouth and Untaught Youth — His Chivalrous Delicacy toward Women — His Morbid Sensibility about His Wife's Reputation — His Combats with Indians — Various Recounters and Duels — The Hermitage — The Seminole War — Battle of New Orleans — His Determination to Hang the Nullifiers — Honest, Single-minded, and Patriotic — Van Buren as Democrat and Free-seller — His Contented Old Age — Harrison as an Indian Fighter — The Log Cabin Campaign, . . . 468

CHAPTER XLII.

JOHN TYLER AND JAMES K. POLK, TENTH AND ELEVENTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Tyler the First Vice-President to Succeed the Chief Executive by Death — A Representative of the Same Social Class as Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe — Education and Wealth Really Disadvantageous to Him — A Career of Continuous Vetoes — Making Himself Extremely Unpopular — Forcing His Cabinet to Resign — The Annexation of Texas a Favorite Scheme — A Member of the Peace Convention in 1861 — A Former Chief Magistrate in Open Rebellion against the Government — Polk and the Mexican War — A Commonplace President, . . . 482

CHAPTER XLIII.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, MILLARD FILLMORE, AND FRANKLIN PIERCE, TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, AND FOURTEENTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Taylor Purely a Military Man — His Reputation Made in the Mexican War — His Death in Four Months — His Disqualifications for Political Life — Fillmore's Early Success — His Foreshadowing of the National Banking System — Approval of the Fugitive Slave Law — The Irreparable Injury it did Him — A Candidate of the American Party — Pierce a Northern Man with Extreme Southern Principles — His Constant Sympathy

CONTENTS.

xxxi

with Slavery — His Gallantry in the Field — Retirement to Private Life Equivalent to Extinction, 489

CHAPTER XLIV.

JAMES BUCHANAN, FIFTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

An Unpopular Administration — James Buchanan's Early History — Sent to Congress at Twenty-nine — The Weakest of Presidents — His Total Inadequacy for the Great Emergency in Which He was Placed — Shrewd for His Own Interest — An Admirer and Follower of Jackson Without His Will or Courage — The Anti-Slavery Excitement in Kansas — The Cause of the Civil War Inherent in the Constitution — The Nation on the Eve of a Conflict — Admission by Buchanan of the Right of the Southern States to Secede — A Pitiful Spectacle of Imbecility, 498

CHAPTER XLV.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Contrast between Lincoln and Buchanan — His Lonely Boyhood and Severe Youth — The Cause of His Detestation of Slavery — The Campaign with Douglas in Illinois Introduces Him to the Nation — The Irresistible Magnetism of the Rail-Splitter — His Nomination at Chicago — Deplorable Condition of the Country at the Time of His Inauguration — His Resolve to Preserve the Union at all Hazards — Distressing Effect of His Assassination — His Personal Appearance and Power of Persuasion, 507

CHAPTER XLVI.

ANDREW JOHNSON AND ULYSSES S. GRANT, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Johnson's Early Life and Hard Struggles — A Tailor Who was more than the Ninth Part of a Man — His Views of Slavery

and Secession — His Personal Courage and its Good Effects Politically — His Disagreement with Congress about Reconstruction — The Impeachment Trial — Grant in the Mexican War — His Incompetency in Business — Finding his Place in the Civil War — His Extraordinary Success in the Field — Called to Command the Army of the Potomac — His Political Mistakes and Alleged Greed of Power, . . . 514

CHAPTER XLVII.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, JAMES A. GARFIELD, AND CHESTER A. ARTHUR, NINETEENTH, TWENTIETH, AND TWENTY-FIRST PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Hayes as Lawyer, Politician, and Soldier — Nominated Because an Ohioan — The Electoral Commission — Great Outcry against Him, but still a Creditable President — Garfield's Hard Fight with Fortune at the Outset — Ambition to be a Canal-Boat Captain — His Career in the Army — Leader of the House of Representatives — His Admirable Equipment for Political Life — His Nomination at Chicago Wholly Unexpected — The National Sorrow at His Assassination — Arthur Born in a Log Cabin, and Ruling in the White House, . . . 526

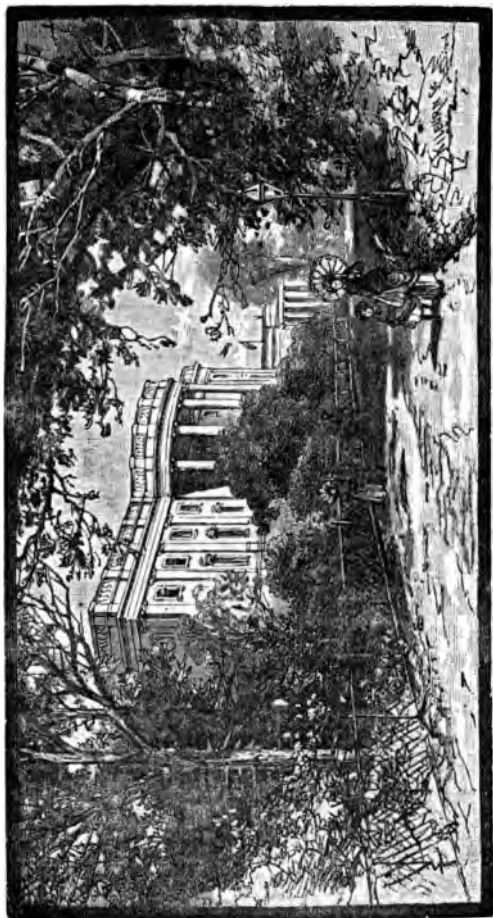
CHAPTER XLVIII.

GROVER CLEVELAND, TWENTY-SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BENJAMIN HARRISON, TWENTY-THIRD, AND GROVER CLEVELAND AGAIN.

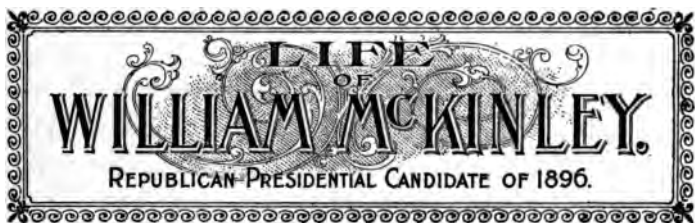
Cleveland's Luck — Inconspicuous as a Lawyer — No National Reputation till 1882 — A Phenomenal Majority — His Nomination for the Presidency — New York the Pivot — His Famous Tariff Message, the Mills Bill and Defeat — Harrison the Gallant General, Great Senator, and Successful President — The McKinley Bill and Reciprocity — The Sherman Act — A Campaign of Misrepresentation — Cleveland Again — Great Democratic Prospects and their Collapse, . . . 539

THE MAN.

"He has endeared himself to all by his record as a gallant soldier, battling for the flag. He has honored himself, his State, and the country by his conspicuous services in high legislative and executive places. No man more than he is familiar with the questions that now engage public thought. No man is more able than he lucidly to set them before the people. I do not need to invoke your attention to what he shall say. He will command it."—Ex-President BENJAMIN HARRISON introducing William McKinley at Indianapolis, September 25, 1894.



SOUTH (REAR) VIEW OF THE WHITE HOUSE.



CHAPTER I.

THE MCKINLEY FAMILY—BRED IN CONTESTS FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

William McKinley's Scotch Ancestry — Descended from Macduff, who Killed Macbeth — The McKinlay Clan and McKinlay the Trooper — "Not too Much" — The McKinlay of whom Burns Sang — Emigration of James and William McKinley to this Country about 1742 — Northern McKinleys and Southern McKinleys — William McKinley's Great Grandfather in the Revolution — Workers in Iron Industry — McKinley's Mother — Hard Workers all and Thorough Patriots.

THE ancestors, on the paternal side, of William McKinley came originally from Scotland, and were, according to the most reliable traditions, participants in those stirring events in which the Scottish clans of the Highlands cultivated, for the sake of their clannish independence or their religious freedom, the arts of war more than the arts of peace. If the McKinlay clan did not become so prominent in the perpetual conflict that took place in the Scotland of the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries as the McIntoshes, the McDonalds, the McLeans, and the Camerons, it at least must have been actively engaged in those strifes. The McKinlays were Covenanters, and so subject to all the persecutions that the Scottish Covenanters suffered, and the changes they endured, and, like other Scots, their hearts swelled at the thought of the death of Wallace and the triumphs of Bruce.

In the Dean of Linsmore's book, a collection belonging to the early part of the sixteenth century, there are two poems ascribed to Gillecallum Mac an Ollaimh, and the translator states that the name signifies Malcom, the son of the chief bard or the physician. It is stated also in a footnote that the name is still found in the form McInally, but McKinlay, which was the name of the clan later known to history, is more commonly, and, considering recent investigations, with abundant reasons, regarded as being derived from the name Finlay.

The most reliable genealogical history makes the earliest ancestor of whom there is any record Constantine Macduff, Earl of Fife, who killed Macbeth, thus by heroic conduct creating the basis for Shakespeare's immortal tragedy. The second son of the third earl was called MacIntosh, from whom the clan McIntosh may have descended. In the seventeenth generation appeared Finlay, who fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and whose eldest son William was called MacKinlay. His family settled at The Annie, Gaelic for "The Ford of the Stag," near Callander, Perthshire, Scotland, about 1600. There about 1645 was born John McKinlay whose second son was named James. James it was, who became, as family tradition states, a great and mighty man of valor, known as "McKinlay the Trooper." To him

the ancestry of William McKinley of to-day has been traced. The crest of the clan was an armed arm, holding a branch of olive; the motto was "Not too much." The tartan was a sombre plaid of green and blue with a larger plaid of narrow red stripes.

Outside of the mention of the name of the McKinlays in some of the old manuscripts there is nothing until the time of Robert Burns, who mentions the name in "The Ordination" and "Tam Samson's Elegy." The McKinlay he sang about is said to be buried not far from the tomb of Burns, alongside that of Tam Samson. He must have been a Scotch contemporary of the McKinleys who came to this country, for it is claimed his ordination actually took place April 6, 1786. By the death of a moderate clergyman in Kilmarnock there was much excitement lest a "high-flier" instead of a moderate should be appointed to the place by the patron. Rev. James McKinley was of the zealous party, and Burns, to console the moderates, composed the poem containing an anticipatory view of the ceremony. This Reverend McKinlay had become a great favorite by the time Burns wrote "Tam Samson's Elegy," beginning:

Has auld Kilmarnock seen the deil ?
Or great M'Kinlay thrawn his heel ?
Or Robertson again grown weel
To preach and read ?
"Na, waur than a' !" cries ilka chiel —
"Tam Samson's dead !"

The change in the spelling of McKinlay to McKinley is explained by the reply Major McKinley himself made when the descendants of "the clan" held their meeting at

the World's Fair, Chicago, to a lady of the same name, but spelled in the old way.

"Your ancestors of the McKinlay clan," he said, "came to this country directly from Scotland, while mine came from the north of Ireland, but we are all of the same stock."

It appears that "McKinlay the Trooper" went to Ireland and took part in the Battle of the Boyne, fought July 1, 1690, acting as a guide to the victorious army of William III. He may have returned to his clan in Scotland, but probably he settled there in Ireland and became the ancestor of the Scotch-Irish McKinleys. The Scottish McKinlays preserved their clan in the Highlands till after the battle at Culloden Moor — "Culloden ! which reeks with the blood of the brave" — when Charles the Pretender was overthrown and the last hope of the restoration of the Stuart dynasty was extinguished. The hereditary jurisdictions of the chiefs were transferred to the crown, the garb of the Highlanders was forbidden by law, the dread of the clansmen died away, and many of them fled to America, where their descendants still write their names McKinlay.

It was about this time that a McKinley, probably the son of "McKinlay the Trooper," for he was born in 1708 in the north of Ireland, came to this country with two boys, James, twelve years old, and William, who was still younger. These boys founded two branches of the McKinley family, one in the southern, and the other in the northern States. The southern branch descended from William McKinley, and settled in Maryland. One member of this branch became an associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States — John McKinley from Alabama, who served on the bench from 1837 to 1852, and died in office.

The branch from which the William McKinley of to-day is descended was founded by James McKinley, the other brother, who settled in York county, Pennsylvania, probably very soon after his arrival in this country, for there is a record of a son having been born to him May 16, 1755, and this son, David McKinley, was the McKinley of the Revolution, and the great-grandfather of the Ohio statesman.

The official records of the Bureau of Pensions show that David McKinley enlisted in June, 1776, as a private, from Chanceford, Pennsylvania. Short enlistments were the rule in the Revolution, and it is found that David McKinley enlisted eight times, serving usually for two months only, but reenlisting at the expiration of each service, and altogether serving for nearly two years in the war. He was in active service, engaged in the defense of Fort Paulishook, and the skirmishes of Amboy and Chestnut Hill. At some time in his service he was wounded.

After the war he returned to Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, where he lived fifteen years. On December 19, 1780, about two years after his honorable discharge from the army, he married Sarah Gray, who was born May 10, 1760. It is a notable fact that however severe the wound he received in service, he did not apply for a pension until August 15, 1832, fifty-four years after he was mustered out, and in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

His first wife, Sarah, died October 6, 1814, and one year later he was married to Eleanor McLean, and at about the same time he settled in Columbiana county, Ohio. He had previously lived a short time in Mercer county, Pennsylvania. It is probable that he moved to Ohio with one of his

ten children, then grown to manhood, and seeking a fortune in the new and unsettled West. His second wife died in 1835 without issue, and David McKinley himself lived five years longer, the date of his death being recorded as August 8, 1840. His grandson, William McKinley, Sr., and the father of the William McKinley of to-day, was then a man of thirty-three. David McKinley was buried in an old cemetery at Bucyrus, Crawford county, Ohio, in a lot purchased by William McKinley, Sr. Probably he was living with his grandson near New Lisbon at the time of his death, for James McKinley, son of David, and grandfather of William McKinley, Jr., moved to New Lisbon in 1809, and here it was, so the family traditions state, that later the father of the present William McKinley "worked in Gideon Hughes's furnace." James McKinley and his wife both died on the same day — the former at sixty-two years of age, and the latter at fifty-eight, and were buried in the same grave, in a cemetery near South Bend, Ind.

William McKinley's grandfather, as well as his father, was a furnace worker, or a furnace blower, as they were called. It is said that he ran a charcoal furnace in Lisbon, Ohio, away back in the "thirties," and was a staunch Whig and ardent advocate of a protective tariff. Western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio had become famous as iron-producing regions, even under the crude methods that were then applied to the industry. It is certain that William McKinley's father began work in an iron furnace at an early age, and continued in that business throughout his active life.

Turning now to the ancestry of William McKinley on

the maternal side we find, in addition to the strong character and rugged views of independence and of religious freedom which came from Scottish ancestry, that a contribution of both Scottish and German blood was received. Mary Rose, who married James, William McKinley's grandfather, came from England and was of Puritan extraction. Her ancestors were among those who fled eastward from England to Holland to secure freedom from religious persecution, while the paternal ancestors of McKinley were struggling for similar freedom in Scotland. From Holland they came to America, Andrew Rose being an emigrant with William Penn, and receiving land encompassing sixty miles, where Doylestown, Pennsylvania, now stands. He was a prominent man in the early colonial history of Pennsylvania. His son, Andrew Rose, Jr., was the father of Mary Rose, who became the wife of James McKinley, and the mother of William McKinley, Sr.

It is not strange that when the old Covenanter stock of Scotland was mingled with that of those stern lovers of religious freedom, the Puritans, a strong, self-reliant, and intelligent family was planted in eastern Ohio. This Andrew Rose, Jr., the great-grandfather of William McKinley on his mother's side, while not a warrior for a long time in the Revolution like David McKinley, was an extremely useful man in those days when skill in the art of producing instruments of warfare was but rare. He shouldered his musket and went to battle, but bullets and cannon-balls being needed as much as men, and as he was an iron moulder by trade, he was sent home after the battle of Monmouth to make ammunition for the fighters in the field. After the war he continued in his trade as an iron worker.

By his second wife he had eight children, and one of them, Polly, was the grandmother of William McKinley, Jr. Her father moved from Bucks county to Center county, Pennsylvania, and it was somewhere at this time that the Roses and McKinleys became acquainted, and a family association began which has since continued. Marriage relationships and business partnerships were not only entered into by the McKinleys and the Roses directly after the Revolution, but later on children of Andrew Rose, Jr., assisted William McKinley, Sr., at his iron foundry at New Lisbon, Ohio. Another Rose was interested with William McKinley, Sr., at Slippery Rock, in Mercer county, in the iron business. James McKinley and his wife, Mary Rose McKinley, moved to New Lisbon in 1809, when William McKinley, Sr., was but a year and a half old. James Rose was married to Martha McKinley, daughter of David and Sarah McKinley, in 1806, and the peculiarly intimate relations between the two families, thus early entered into, have been maintained in various ways ever since.

William McKinley, Sr., who was the second of thirteen children, was married in the twenty-second year of his age to Mary Allison. The Allisons originally came from England and settled in Virginia. Some of them afterwards went to Greene county, Pennsylvania, and it was there that Abner Allison, the grandfather of McKinley, was born. In 1798 he married Ann Campbell, who came of a Scotch-German family. Early in this century this couple emigrated westward from Pennsylvania, making the journey on horseback, Mrs. Allison holding in front of her the youngest child. They settled some

eight miles from New Lisbon, Ohio, on a farm, and there in 1809 was born Mary Allison, who became the mother of McKinley. She was married to William McKinley, Sr., in 1827, and soon after the young couple went to Fairfield, Ohio.

By this mixture of the Covenanter and the Puritan, and an added element from the blood of the thoughtful and studious German ancestors, William McKinley inherited that love of freedom, that sturdy honesty of purpose, that natural probity, that indomitable will power, which peculiarly fitted his grandparents for entering upon a severe pioneer life in the early part of this century, and which peculiarly fitted him for a notable career. That very pioneer life itself in the uncultivated lands of western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio must have further developed these very same qualities. Their experiences, if not as severe as those of the Puritans who landed at Plymouth Rock, and who had a tough struggle with the climate and the Indians, were at least severe enough to develop all their strong qualities. It was an experience by which men and women were either made great or killed at an early age. The women, no less than the men, were called upon to endure many hardships in providing for the families of those days, which were generally large, and surrounded, by force of circumstances, with scanty provisions for their comfort and sustenance.

Engaged in the early iron industries of this country, as William McKinley's grandfather and father, and also his great grandfather, Andrew Rose, Jr., were, William McKinley inherited strong convictions as to the conditions regarding the development of the business, and we

can well imagine that in his mind were early laid the foundations of those doctrines as to protection to home industries, and their development in this country in thorough independence of other countries — a doctrine of which he was destined to become the leading exponent among the people.

The readiness, also, with which several of the ancestors of William McKinley left their farms, furnaces, or their forges, and went to the field of battle when there was a call for men, in defense of their country, will explain, so far as ancestry can, the promptness with which the Ohio statesman, when only a lad of eighteen, persuaded his parents to allow him to shoulder a musket and march to the front in defense of the Union in 1861. The McKinleys have always been hard workers and thorough patriots.

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH AND BOYHOOD — EARLY INFLUENCES IN THE MCKINLEY HOME AT NILES.

The Birthplace of McKinley and its Associations — Influences of His Father and Mother — No Chances for Idleness in the McKinley Family — William and his Share in the family Woodpile — A More Bookish than Boyish Boy — The Household Library — Standard Works of History — Shakespeare a Favorite — Dickens for Fiction — Seizing every Opportunity for Study — After-dinner Readings in the Family Circle — Every Night, Some Member of the Family Read Aloud for an Hour — Early to Bed and Early to Rise — Father McKinley a Whig, Free Soller, and Protectionist — He Talked Politics with his Children — Magazines and The Weekly Tribune Regular Visitors — Religious Influences.

IN the early forties, William McKinley, Sr., was managing an iron furnace near Niles, Trumbull county, Ohio, a settlement of very few inhabitants then, where the Mosquito Creek runs into the Mahoning river, and it was there, in a long, two-story dwelling, that, on January 29, 1843, William McKinley, Jr., was born. The building served the double purpose of a country store and dwellings. It is still standing, and a faithful picture of it as it is to-day will show the old country store, and just over the vine-clad entrance to the tenements above, is the part of the house where William McKinley first saw the light of day. It was in the little porch, over which the

vines run in profusion, that William McKinley, nearly fifty years later, opened his gubernatorial campaign in Ohio following his defeat in that remarkable contest which became a campaign of national political importance — his campaign for congressional election in 1890, when his district had been so outrageously gerrymandered against him by the Democrats.

That portion of Ohio had been tinctured by New England emigration and it is a notable fact that many men of prominence, especially in the politics of to-day, were born in that region. Thirty miles away, in the adjoining county of Cuyahoga, James A. Garfield was born. Senator Allison of Iowa once lived only thirty miles from Canton. Senator Manderson of Nebraska lived and was married half that distance from that place. Thomas C. Platt once kept a store at Massillon, eight miles away, and Senator Quay's home is only sixty miles away. Hayes was born in Delaware county, and the two Shermans were born and reared in Lancaster, only one hundred miles away.

William was the seventh of nine children, and in view of the demands upon the mother's time in those days, and in the circumstances fortune offered, it may well be imagined that when William came, his elder brothers and sisters were called upon to do their share in amusing and caring for him.

It is said that George Washington inherited from his mother those qualities of mind and character which made him great, as many other great men are thought to have done. The mother always plays an important part in the making of the character of her children, and so it may with equal truth be said that William McKinley inherited


from his mother many of those qualities which have led to his success in life; so also from his father, who, however humble his circumstances, never neglected to provide for the instruction of his children. The McKinleys were regarded by their neighbors as above others in intelligence, and were much liked and respected. Though their time was so much occupied with the commonplaces of life, no opportunity for the improvement of the mind or for the strengthening of the morals was neglected in their little household. It was in such an atmosphere of hard work and never neglected opportunities that the McKinley brothers and sisters were reared.

His mother, who is still living at Canton, Ohio, at the age of eighty-seven, always speaks of William as a good boy. But while fond mothers are apt to forget the peccadillos of their children, and consider them as good at all times, it is doubtless true that William seldom caused either of his parents any trouble. This is the verdict of his brothers and sisters. The honest, old-fashioned switch had its place in that little home full of lively and vigorous children, but the force of parental authority was more often exercised upon the others than upon William. None of the McKinley boys ever sulked, however — a little examination of the family will show that that is characteristic. They seldom lost their tempers, and if they did, soon found that it simply was not in them to stay mad. It is characteristic of William McKinley, as often mentioned in Washington, that no matter how bitterly he was attacked by his political enemies, he always treated them without any exhibition of temper, and made his worst enemies on the floor good friends off it.

The boys were always provided with something to do for the comfort and support of the family, though never deprived of their play spells. Wood was the fuel of those days, and the thriftiness of a family was often judged by the extent and neatness of its woodpile. William and Abner McKinley remember of their being delegated to work in that McKinley woodpile, each to do a certain share, and it is said that William always did his own as quickly and as skillfully as he could, while some of the others would get their share done for them when eager for play.

As a boy, William was well built, but as time went on, and in spite of the exercise that he took, he lost some of his robustness. He was a serious child, always studious, and preferred books to exercise, indulging in out-of-door sports more from a desire to be accommodating than because of any real taste in that direction. When he played, he always "played fair," and his companions liked him; but he preferred to pore over what books he could lay his hands on, and he was able to lay his hands on a good many.

Of these brothers and sisters, only four are living. David Allison McKinley, the eldest of the family, went to California in '49, and died there two or three years ago. The next child, and the eldest sister, Annie McKinley, was at the head of the Canton school for thirty years, and died July 29, 1890. James McKinley, the third child, went to California in '46, and is now dead. Mary McKinley, the next, died several years ago. Sarah Elizabeth McKinley became Mrs. Duncan, and is living at Cleveland. Helen Minerva McKinley, an unmarried sister, is living with Mother McKinley at Canton. William, as we have said, was the seventh. The eighth, Ab-



bey, died when a babe, and the ninth was Abner McKinley, who is engaged in business in New York city.

At variance with the custom prevailing among other families in that section, which was largely inhabited by people from New England, the family dinner occurred in the evening instead of at noon. Father McKinley was a busy man, and disliked to give up a valuable hour in the middle of the day to a heavy meal, but preferred to have it after the day's work was over and at liberty to enjoy himself in the company of wife and children.

It was a standing rule in the family that for one hour after dinner someone should read aloud to the others, every evening. There was nothing compulsory about it so far as attendance was concerned, but that after-dinner hour was religiously kept, nevertheless, and seldom did a member of the family care to miss it. There, in a family circle, the members gathered and listened while some one of the family read from the current papers, or from some of the standard works in the little library.

Unlike many of the homes in Ohio in those days, there was a comfortable little collection of books in the McKinley household. Father McKinley was a great reader himself. Sundays he would read nearly all day, except for the time given to attendance upon religious worship. In the little library, from which they drew much of their reading material, were works like Hume's History of England, Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, and Rolins' Ancient History. The early works of Charles Dickens constituted a part of the fiction. A volume of Shakespeare, which is still in existence, and highly prized at the old home in Canton, was a source of regular entertainment

and inspiration. Father McKinley was a great reader of Shakespeare, and liked to dwell upon his majestic sentences. The well-worn volume now testifies strongly to the industry with which it was perused, and also to the care with which it was defended from the ravages of time and use.

For years one of the standard monthly magazines went into the McKinley family, and its arrival was an interesting event. It was at once taken up and read from beginning to end — not skimmed as magazines and other periodicals too often are to-day by busy people, surfeited with too much reading matter. When the magazine was taken from the post-office, it immediately became the material for thorough reading either at the post-prandial family meetings, or by the individual members at other times.

But perhaps nothing in the current literature of the day finding its way to the McKinley household was looked for with more eagerness and interest than the New York Weekly Tribune, which had, under Horace Greeley, become a power in the land. Father McKinley would often read its columns to the family aloud, and it was said that William, Jr., paid close attention to the glowing political utterances of Greeley, and often sought further political information from his father — information which he seldom failed to obtain, for, as we have said, Father McKinley was an exceedingly intelligent man, much interested in politics, being a Whig, afterwards a Free Soiler, and always a protectionist, as was his father before him. He used to talk politics with his boys very often.

Through these readings and political talks in the home circle, William McKinley, Jr., doubtless first began to take

an interest in politics. The country was beginning to awaken to the inevitable conflict between the North and the South. We may imagine the family comments upon the warm presidential contest of 1852, and the doings of the Thirty-third Congress, which followed, and during which Senator Douglas reported the Kansas and Nebraska bill, nor is it difficult to imagine the comments made by the elder McKinley, a lover of freedom and a Free Soiler, upon the arrest of Anthony Burns as a slave in Boston in 1854, and his conveyance by the revenue cutter *Morris*, by order of President Pierce, to Norfolk, Va., where he was delivered to his alleged master. McKinley was only twelve when Nathaniel P. Banks was elected speaker of the Thirty-fourth Congress; only thirteen when President Pierce, in a special message recognized the pro-slavery legislature of Kansas, and called the attempt to establish a free state government an act of rebellion, and only thirteen when Charles Sumner was beaten down in the Senate by Preston S. Brooks. Five years later he shouldered a musket and marched away to the war, not to return until the last armed rebel had surrendered.

Swiftly after the evening reading, followed bedtime in the McKinley home. They were early risers. One of the rules of the house, as inflexible as the laws of the Medes and Persians — for Mrs. McKinley was convinced that regularity was one of the essentials of a sound constitution — was that the children should retire at seven o'clock. This must have been something of a sacrifice for a studious boy like William, who delighted in that evening's literary entertainment, and would, no doubt, have gladly pursued his studies a little longer, but he made up by early rising and by mak-

ing the best of every opportunity which occurred during the day.

The McKinley children were reared as Methodists. They were fond of going to Sunday-school, as children usually were in those sparsely settled communities, and probably such attendance would have been compulsory whether they liked it or not; for, while it is a striking fact that Father McKinley frowned upon any compulsory rules in the house as to listening to the evening reading from history, Shakespeare, or the Tribune, or too much compulsion of any sort, religious attendance was regarded as something which could not be well omitted. William McKinley was thoroughly interested in the teachings of the Sunday-school, and he soon grew to acquire a strong religious conviction. When fifteen years of age, he joined the Methodist church at Niles.

CHAPTER III.

EDUCATION — REMOVAL TO POLAND AND A CHANGE OF ENVIRONMENT.


McKinley's Brief Attendance at a Common School — Removal of the McKinley Family to Poland — William Enters the Seminary at Nine Years of Age — Some of the Teachers and their Influence upon McKinley — His Sister Annie — McKinley Takes to Greek and Latin — Avails Himself of an Opportunity to Study Hebrew with a Methodist Minister — A Literary and Oratorical Development — The Literary Society at the Seminary — Ringing Debates on Burning Questions of the Hour — Scrupulous Care in the Maintenance of the Society's Room — No Trespassing on the New Carpet, except in Slippers — McKinley a burner of Midnight Oil — Passing the Examination to Enter the Junior Class at Allegheny College — Ill Health — A School Teacher — Clerk in a Country Store — Ready for War.

THE glimpse we have just taken of the family life of the McKinleys will reveal the early educational influences which surrounded the boy who was later to become a man of the nation. Instruction was a part of the order of things in the McKinley family, and nothing could have been more agreeable to William McKinley's mind and disposition. When he was five years old, he went to the common school at Niles, but it may well be doubted if the instruction he received in that little common school in those early days in Ohio was as thorough or as ex-

tensive as that which he received at home from his father and his mother, combined with that which he industriously picked up himself.

William McKinley, Sr., soon realized that with a large family of intelligent boys and girls growing up about him, better educational facilities were required, and so we find that in 1852, or when William was nine years old, the family moved to Poland, a quaint, old New England sort of place, which could boast of very few inhabitants, and yet of two academic schools — one of Presbyterian persuasion, and the other under Methodist control. The Presbyterian school was destroyed by fire, shortly before the McKinleys moved to Poland, and the educational facilities of the two schools were practically combined, the institution being known as the Poland Union Seminary.

William was far enough advanced in his books to enter at once upon a study of the curriculum of this institution. His habits of studiousness and devotion to his books increased as he grew older. One of the teachers at the Poland Seminary was Miss E. M. Blakelee, who was an excellent woman of good attainments, and of much strength of character, and who exercised a very important influence over the young pupil. He publicly and handsomely acknowledged this when he was requested to deliver the annual address to the graduating class in the year 1883. Miss Blakelee, after teaching for nearly thirty years, much of the time in Poland, had married Mr. E. K. Morse of that place, and in speaking of her, he ascribed to her much of the good influence upon himself, and upon the youth who went out from the Poland Union Seminary. She was a woman of earnest and resolute character, and had a quiet, womanly



way, which impressed itself upon McKinley as well as upon others, and drew out the best of what there was in her pupils.

Another woman who exercised a strong and uplifting influence upon McKinley was his elder sister, Annie, a close friend also of Miss Blakeslee. Indeed, the two women had a friendly rivalry as to the number of years they should devote to teaching, and curiously enough, they each of them taught for thirty years.

While McKinley was fond of mathematics, he took a special delight in the languages. He had even succeeded in picking up by himself considerable Greek and Latin, and some Hebrew. One of his possessions was a Hebrew Testament, and he acquired considerable knowledge of that difficult tongue by taking an occasional opportunity to receive instruction from a Methodist minister at Poland. This minister, Rev. W. F. Day, D.D., was a man of much influence, and at a later period became quite eminent in his profession. His son, Wilson M. Day, is now President of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. Young William perceived the opportunities for further instruction which could be obtained from such a man, and the clergyman was quite as quick to recognize the agreeable and promising character of the material which was offered to him for working.

Besides the instruction which McKinley thus obtained outside of his ordinary seminary life, his association with the minister strengthened his religious convictions, and made him an earnest, Christian young man. He was a conspicuous member of one of the Bible classes in the church at Poland, and it is related that he took to the study of the Bible, as he did to nearly everything else, with an especial thoroughness, making every point a subject of inquiry.

He was, they say, "eternally asking questions," about matters in the Bible class.

But the literary and elocutionary part of his training was not neglected. While McKinley was necessarily something of a recluse, being a close student and an excessive user of midnight oil, he nevertheless mingled considerably with the young people of Poland, and was always liked because of his good disposition and engaging ways. One of the features of the seminary was called the Everett Literary Society, undoubtedly from the great orator, Edward Everett. McKinley was instrumental in the formation of this very practical and useful adjunct to the institution, and was its first president. Little by little, this society got together a limited library, which was placed in a room on the third floor of the seminary building. The society held its meetings every Friday evening, and they were great occasions. Every question almost within the range of human knowledge was debated, and William McKinley either presided or was one of the chief debaters. There, undoubtedly, he laid the foundations for that persuasive and convincing style that has made him one of the most successful advocates and orators, either in Congress or upon the platform.

As indicative of the pride which the boys and girls of Poland took in this institution and of the scrupulous care with which they maintained it, it became a standing rule in the society — at some little sacrifice upon their pocket books, a new carpet, purchased at the nearest town boasting a carpet store, had been laid on the floor — that the boys should always come to the meetings in slippers, and that the girls, no matter how fine the weather, should wear rubbers, to be removed before entering. There was an ante-

room in which the girls removed their rubbers, and the boys also could remove their boots and put on their slippers before trespassing upon the dainty carpet.

Standing in his slippers before that little company of boys and girls on the third floor of the seminary, William McKinley debated many political subjects of the day, and it is well known from the faithful reading of history, as well as of the current weekly papers, which had been so thoroughly perused at his father's house, that McKinley was the best equipped of all the young men there to discuss the burning questions of the day.

All the testimony that can be gathered from those who have recollections of McKinley's school-boy days in Poland, tends to show that he was a real boy, enjoying his sports with other boys, always popular with them, and yet much more devoted to his books. "It was seldom that his head was not in a book," says one who was closely associated with McKinley in those days. The story is told of a strife between him and another student who roomed across the street from the McKinleys as to which should first show a light to begin the early morning study, and as to which should show the longest endurance under the light from "midnight oil." "Exact knowledge," said McKinley thirty years later, at the dedication of a public school in a little town in Ohio, "is the requirement of the hour. You will be crippled without it. You must help yourselves. Luck will not last. It may help you once, but you cannot count on it. Labor is the only key to opportunity."

It was under such circumstances and with such a purpose that McKinley pursued his academic education at Poland until he was seventeen years of age. His education had

been far more extensive than anything he could have gained in the little Poland academy. He had really acquired an education in the university of the world, far away from the centers of activity as he was. From the lips of his well-informed father, and his intelligent mother, and in that little after-dinner reading circle, which must have exercised so potent an influence over the formation of his convictions, he learned to grapple with life's sterner problems. He had secured besides this, as any boy of his studious turn of mind must, a firm grasp upon the facts of life by his own study and reading, and from his association with the Methodist minister of Poland, by which his ideas were broadened, and his mental grasp of things strengthened.

When he went to Allegheny College at Meadville, Pa., he had no difficulty in passing the examination for entering the junior class of that institution. But his devotion to his studies and lack of exercise had expanded his mind at the expense of his body, and shortly after he began his college education his health failed so completely that he was compelled to return to his home at Poland.

It was not in him, however, to rest. He sought a change by engaging as a school teacher in what was then called the Kerr district, about two and a half miles from Poland. The old inhabitants of Poland recall the sight of McKinley striding off "across lots" to and from the old schoolhouse which still stands.

Concerning his experiences in this country school, there is very little to be said. Knowing McKinley's disposition and habits of study and interest in the questions of the day, there is no doubt that the stirring events in the nation at that time began to exercise a strong influence upon his mind.

Just before the beginning of that winter, while he was teaching, the nineteenth presidential election was held, and Abraham Lincoln was elected President. Buchanan, in the short time in which he remained in office, was showing his weakness as President, and his favoritism for the South. Congress was at work upon schemes for adjusting the difficulty. South Carolina seceded in December. Gradually secession was taking place throughout the South, and by the 8th of February Jefferson Davis was chosen President of the Confederate States.

The news of all these events permeated into the heart of every little hamlet in Ohio, and aroused the greatest excitement. The fighting blood that ran in McKinley's veins was unquestionably affected. His patriotism was bred in the bone. The thoughts of the studious boy, with impaired health, turned to war. His school education closed there, and after a short time, during which he acted as a clerk in the store and post-office at Poland, he entered upon his career as a soldier.

He proved his gallantry upon the field, and was quickly promoted. When, after long service, he was mustered out and returned to his home, he was by disposition the same studious boy, but the hard experience of the war had been the making of him physically. It rebuilt his constitution upon a stronger foundation, and endowed him with those powers of endurance which were long after, in the stress of public life, the marvel of men at Washington, who could not understand how McKinley could work for so many hours at tariff schedules with so little exercise, and still maintain, to all appearances, the most perfect health.

CHAPTER IV.

A VOLUNTEER IN THE RANKS AT EIGHTEEN — ENLISTMENT AT YOUNGSTOWN.

Exciting Events Following McKinley's Winter as a Teacher — President Lincoln's Call for Volunteers — A Hearty Response from Ohio — The Gathering of the Poland Boys at the Sparrow House — The "Poland Guards" and their March to Youngstown — McKinley could not at first get the Consent of his Parents — His Determination on Returning from Youngstown to go to the War — He Pleads his Cause in the McKinley Family and Conquers — Returns to Youngstown and Enlists — The Famous Twenty-third Ohio — Old Muskets Provided for the Boys — At first Refused but Accepted after a Speech from Major Hayes — McKinley Carries his Musket through the War — Its Safe Keeping now at Canton — The Twenty-third Ordered to West Virginia — Their first Engagement a Victory Over the Rebels — What McKinley Says of it — Hardships of Winter Quarters.

EXCITING national events continued to fill the popular mind, and fire the hearts of the people of Ohio as of other states. Fire was opened on Fort Sumter on April 12th. Two days later it surrendered. The next day, President Lincoln, by proclamation, called for 75,000 troops and convened Congress for the Fourth of July. Virginia seceded on April 17th. Every day some new event of startling importance was reported in the breaking up of the Union. On the 3d of May, President Lincoln

called for three-years volunteers and a large addition to the regular army and the navy.

Several regiments had been organized in Ohio for three months' service. The United States called for thirteen regiments from the State in April, and the same day a law was passed authorizing the expense of ten regiments beyond the required number, and providing \$500,000 to support them. A few days later two regiments were organized at Columbus and sent forward, without uniforms or arms, to Washington. Under the three months' call, the State had furnished 22,000 infantry; 180 cavalry, and 200 artillerymen.

We can well imagine that the evening readings at the McKinley fireside in those exciting days were well attended. As we have said, William had finished his term of teaching at the little school near Poland, and was at that time earning a little money as clerk in a store, and preparing to re-enter the college at Meadville. Those were exciting times, and sad ones, too, for the mothers, and sisters, and sweet-hearts of the boys of Poland. Shortly after the President's call for three-years volunteers the young men of Poland gathered at the old Sparrow house in that place, all of them raw and undisciplined youths who had never shouldered a musket, but who were enthusiastic and determined in the defense of the country. Two of these, at least, were William McKinley and his cousin, William M. Osborne, now of Boston. Osborne, who was about William's age, was living with the McKinleys at that time and attending the Poland Union Seminary. Patriotic speeches were made, and opportunities for enlistment offered.

On a sunny day in the latter part of May, when the roll-

ing fields of Ohio were clad with fresh verdure, and the crops of the industrious farmers were promising a rich harvest, a company which was known as the Poland Guards was formed at the old Sparrow house, a captain and a first lieutenant were elected, and it marched down the old street accompanied by nearly all the inhabitants of the little place, cheering the martial spirit of the boys, and still sad over the serious work before them. The company marched on to Youngstown that day accompanied by half the men, women, and children of Poland, including McKinley and Osborne, — but they had not enlisted.

William was only a slender boy of eighteen, who had always been, as we have said, studious and too negligent perhaps of exercise, and Osborne was about the same age, and scarcely as strong. Father McKinley, Free Soiler and Unionist as he was, and Mother McKinley, who clung to her children as a mother will, still feared to allow the young men to march away towards an unknown fate, even in the defense of their country. But McKinley and Osborne could not resist the spell. They marched all the way to Youngstown with the recruits, saw the gathering of troops from other places, and watched the preparations for war. Very reluctantly they turned homeward that night.

After McKinley had walked on in silence for some distance, he said to Osborne:

“Bill, we can’t stay out of this war; we must go in.”

Osborne suggested that they could not get the consent of his parents.

“We must get their consent,” replied McKinley.

That night, as the story in the family goes, William pleaded their cause at the McKinley family circle. He

doubtless pleaded it with eloquence and persuasiveness, for the parents consented, and the next day McKinley and Osborne hurried to Youngstown and joined the boys. From Youngstown they went to Columbus, and there with others from various parts of the State formed the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers. McKinley enlisted as a private in Company E.

Speaking one day to a friend of his in the governor's office at Columbus concerning his enlistment, Governor McKinley leaned back in his chair with a smile of pleasant retrospection on his face, and said, "I always look back with pleasure upon those fourteen months in which I served in the ranks. They taught me a great deal. I was but a school-boy when I went into the army, and that first year was a formative period in my life, during which I learned much of men and facts. I have always been glad that I entered the service as a private, and served those months in that capacity."

The musket which was provided for Private McKinley was one of the old-fashioned sort, which had to be provided in the early days of the war when volunteers came forward faster than suitable arms could be obtained. Some of these old muskets had been transformed from flint-locks. They carried a round ball, and it took a strong man to fire them and a keen eye or a lucky chance to hit anything. But McKinley was proud of that musket. It was better than some that were provided for the Twenty-third Ohio, and he made good use of it when he had a chance, which was not very slow in coming. He carried it not only during the whole period that he served as a private in the ranks, but when he was promoted and given a sword, he still kept it.

He took it about with him, through the whole war, until he was mustered out, and took it back to his home in Ohio. To-day it hangs in a place of honor in the house of one of his old friends in Canton, Mr. W. K. Miller, who prizes it as one of the most valuable of his possessions. At the solicitation of the writer he kindly consented to have it photographed, provided he could carry it to the photographer himself, watch the process, and carry it back to be hung in its place of honor.

A few years ago, when Governor McKinley pronounced a eulogy on the life and services of Rutherford B. Hayes, he spoke of the manner in which the muskets were received by the boys of the regiment as illustrating a feature of Hayes's character. The first headquarters of the regiment were at Camp Chase, and it was there that McKinley had his first meeting with Hayes, and it happened when they came to receive their muskets with all the pride of new recruits.

"The State," said McKinley, "could furnish only the most inferior guns, and these we positively and proudly refused to accept. We would accept nothing but the best. The officers spent most of the day in trying to persuade us to receive the guns for a few weeks, if only for the purpose of drill. None of us knew how to use any kind of a musket at that time, but we thought we knew our rights and were all conscious of our importance. They assured us that more modern guns would soon be supplied. Major Hayes did the talking to our company, and I shall never forget the impression of his speech. He said that many of the most decisive battles in history had been won with the rudest weapons. At Lexington, Bunker Hill, and many



MUSKET CARRIED BY WILLIAM McKINLEY DURING THE WAR.
 McKINLEY IN HIS KNIGHT TEMPLAR'S UNIFORM.
 WILLIAM McKINLEY, Sr. MRS. WILLIAM McKINLEY, Sr.

other engagements of the Revolution, our forefathers had triumphed over the well-equipped English armies, with the very poorest firearms, and that even pikes and scythes had done good work in that glorious conflict. Should we be less patriotic than our brave ancestors? Should we hesitate at the very start of another struggle for liberty and union, for the best and freest government on the face of the earth, because we were not pleased with the pattern of our muskets or with the calibre of our rifles?"

"I cannot," said McKinley, "at this late day recall his exact words, but I shall never forget his warmth of patriotic feeling and the sound sense with which he appealed to us. That was our first and last mutiny. We accepted the old-fashioned guns, took what was offered cheerfully, and Hayes held us captive from that hour."

The Twenty-third Ohio proved to be one of the famous regiments of the State and of the war. It was composed of a superior class of men, both in the ranks and among the officers. While many of them were young men, entirely unused to the hardships of war, their powers of endurance had nevertheless been developed by their open-air occupations, and they possessed besides an earnest devotion to the cause of the Union, and a strong will power which enabled them to endure with patience, and without grumbling, some of the hardest trials of the war.

Among the officers there were three at least who won distinction not only from active service in the war, but in civil life afterwards. The first colonel was W. S. Rosecrans, who became general a little later. The lieutenant-colonel was Stanley Matthews, afterwards a senator from Ohio and a justice of the Supreme Court of the United

States. The first major was Rutherford B. Hayes, who was promoted to the place of general for gallant service, and in civil life was three times elected governor of Ohio, and in 1876 became President of the United States. From the organization of the regiment to the time it was mustered out, there were in it 2,095 men; the number killed in battle was 169; and the number who died from disease through service was 107, the total loss being 276. Of the 2,095, there are, it is said, about 500 still living in the country.

During the time when the regiment was organizing for an advance to the front, the Twenty-seventh Congress assembled in extra session, and President Lincoln sent his first message to Congress. The battle of Bull Run took place on the 21st of July. General McClellan was ordered to Washington on the 22d, and on the 23d General Rosecrans assumed command of the Department of the Ohio. A few days later the new Ohio regiment was ordered to Clarksburg, West Virginia. "From this point," says Whitelaw Reid in "Ohio in the War," "it operated against the numerous guerillas infesting the country in that quarter, performing many days and nights of excessively hard duty, marching and counter-marching over the rugged spurs of the Rich mountain range, and drenched by the almost continual rains of that season. Thus we find the boys who had left their peaceful occupations and happy homes but a few months previous, suddenly plunged into an actual service that put to a severe test both their fighting qualities and powers of endurance."

McKinley participated in all the early engagements in West Virginia with the Twenty-third and the Department of Ohio, under the command of General Rosecrans. The

first engagement was at Carnifex Ferry, on September 10, 1861. This was McKinley's first real taste of fighting with the rebels, and it was a victory, one of the rare ones that was recorded in those early days of the war. The effect of it was of far more consequence to the regiment than the battle itself to the war.

"It gave the boys," McKinley says, "confidence in themselves and faith in their commander. We learned that we could fight and whip the rebels on their own ground."

On October 24, 1861, Major Rutherford B. Hayes was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, taking the place of Stanley Matthews, who had just been appointed colonel of the Forty-first Ohio, and James M. Comly, who was distinguished in later years in civil life as editor of the Ohio State Journal, became the major.

After the engagement at Carnifex Ferry, the regiment went into winter quarters at Fayetteville, where it encountered some of the hardest experiences of the first year of its service. Heavy rains had been falling through that section, the regiment had been necessarily exposed to the cold and damp, and sickness became common. Some of the strongest of the brave young fellows who marched out of Poland, and of other places in Ohio, in that bright spring day, a few months before, succumbed, while others were rendered unfit for service. During all that winter, with the exception of some little skirmishes of no consequence, the troops did little except in the way of recruiting and of much needed drilling and discipline.

CHAPTER V.

A SERGEANT AT NINETEEN — FIERCE WARFARE FOR McKINLEY AND HIS COMRADES.

Severe Trials in Winter Quarters — McKinley Promoted to be Commissary-Sergeant — His Strict Attention to Duty — Executive Ability Recognized by his Commanders — Eulogized by General Hayes and General Hastings — The Breaking up of Camp — Advance upon the Enemy — A Brave Defense — Cut off from Supplies — Hunger in Camp — A March of One Hundred Miles in Three Days under a Burning Sun — The Ride to Washington — A Hot Fight at South Mountain — Three Desperate Bayonet Charges — McKinley's Own Account of the Battle which Enforced the Retirement of Lee — The Eve of Antietam.

THE Twenty-third Ohio, in which McKinley enlisted, like many other regiments from other states, was composed of young, brave, and earnest men, ready to run into the face of the enemy, as their record had already shown, and as it was gloriously demonstrated afterward. But they were unused to war, they were raw, unacquainted with the tactics, and many of them awkward with their arms. Hard were the experiences of these young men, however. Reports of suffering in the army appeared in the papers regularly at that time. It is probable that they were exaggerated, for Hayes, who was in immediate command of McKinley's regiment, wrote home that he was satisfied

our army was better fed, better clad, and better sheltered than any other army in the world. "It is," he said, "the poor families at home and not the soldiers who can justly claim sympathy." That there was much sickness, there can be no doubt, but it was due to causes which the condition of things made necessary.

If there was very little transpiring in camp, there was much of moment going on outside. Great disappointment prevailed throughout the North because of the inaction of the Army of the Potomac. "It is awful," said Senator Wade to General McDowell, December 26, 1861, "and we are endeavoring to see if there is any way in God's world to get rid of the capital besieged, while Europe is looking upon us as almost a conquered people." The belief in McClellan seemed to be slipping away. It should be remembered that it had been a disastrous season for the Union troops. Bull Run had left a depressing effect upon the Union soldiers. Of all the victories ascribed to them, there had been nothing much more conspicuous than at Carnifax Ferry, in which McKinley's regiment participated. The government suspended specie payment in January, and there was scarcely anything except the refreshing victories of Grant in Tennessee to cheer McKinley and his comrades in their damp and lonely quarters.

But it was in that winter's camp that McKinley earned his first promotion. He attracted the attention of his superiors by his management of the little things entrusted to his care. Their keen eyes detected in him executive ability, which would be of great service to the regiment; and on the 15th of April, 1862, he was promoted to commissary-sergeant.

"Young as McKinley was," said ex-President Hayes in 1891, "we soon found that in business, in executive ability, he was a man of rare capacity, of unusual and surpassing capacity, especially for a boy of his age. When battles were fought, or a service was to be performed in warlike things, he always took his place. The night was never too dark, the weather was never too cold, there was no sleet or storm, or hail or snow, that was in the way of his prompt and efficient performance of every duty. When I became commander of the regiment, he soon came to be upon my staff, and he remained upon my staff for one or two years, so that I did literally and in fact know him like a book, and love him like a brother."

When McKinley is asked for information as to his military career, he is inclined to be reticent, preferring that others shall speak; and one of those to whom he refers inquirers, is General Russell Hastings, who was with McKinley during much of his military career. General Hastings was a lieutenant in the Twenty-third Ohio when Major McKinley was a private. At the close of the war, Hastings was in command of the regiment, and was brevetted brigadier-general, while McKinley was serving on the staff of General Sheridan.

Speaking not long ago of Major McKinley in the war, General Hastings said: "Major McKinley was always keen, quick, and alert, and so was naturally fitted for staff service, a fact his superiors soon realized and took advantage of, so that during the greater part of the war he served on the staff of the general officers, one of the most dangerous positions in the army, one which required the utmost readiness of resource and bravery of the highest order."

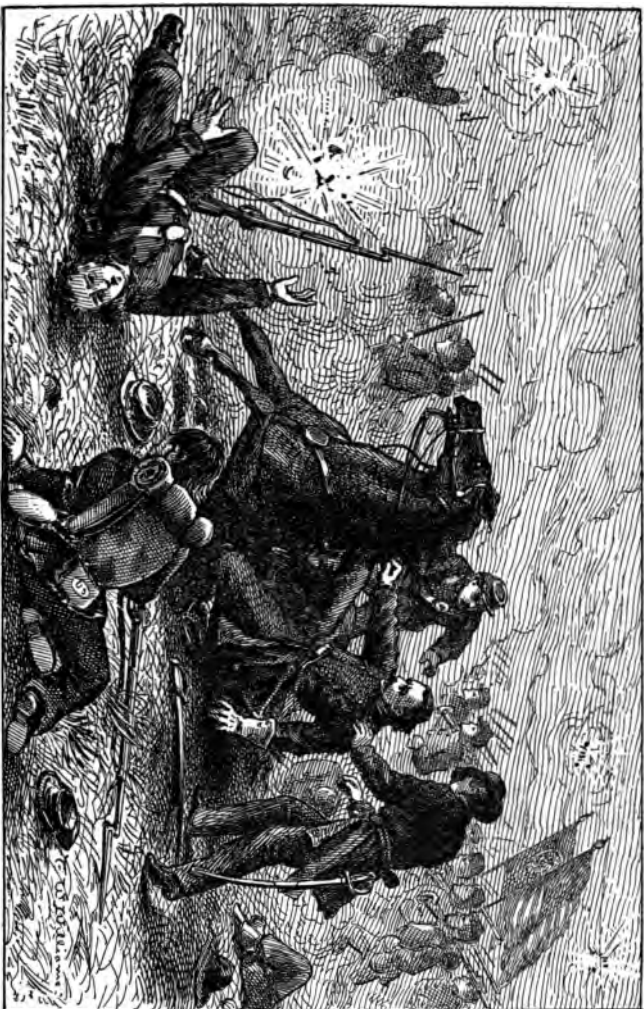
Two days after the promotion of McKinley, his regiment, under command of Colonel Hayes, cheerfully quitted winter quarters and led the advance upon the enemy. The second engagement in which McKinley participated was at Clarke's Hollow on the 1st of May, and from there his regiment advanced upon Princeton, West Virginia. The enemy evacuated the place before the Union soldiers, but attacked the single Ohio regiment with four regiments, on the 8th, forcing it to retire to East River, though in good order, and fighting at every step. The boys were in close quarters, and as the enemy succeeded in cutting off supplies, they were put on short rations, and some of them almost starved. Princeton was then abandoned, and the regiment returned to Flat Top Mountain, where it remained in camp until the 13th of July. Thence by a march of one hundred miles in three days, it arrived at Camp Piatt on the Great Kanawha. Such a march of over thirty miles a day, under the summer sun of a southern sky, was a severe test of the powers of endurance of those raw, but now partially disciplined, troops.

But while McKinley and his war comrades were engaged in that tedious march, they were not dispirited — their natural boyish spirits came to the front. W. D. Howells, in writing of the boys in Hayes' regiment, says: "They were humorous in their way, as all unspoiled Americans are, and in their march through a friendly section of Maryland, where the admiring women, children, and negroes called out from every house to know what troops they were, their drollery bubbled out in such answers as, 'The Twenty-third Utah,' 'The Twenty-third Bushwhackers,' 'Drafted men,' 'Home Guards,' 'Peace Men,' 'The Lost Tribes,' etc."

Upon arriving at Parkersville, the regiment took the cars for Washington and joined McClellan's forces, driving the enemy out of Frederick, Md., and reaching Middletown on the 13th of September. It was on this trip to Washington that McKinley, as most of the Ohio boys perhaps, had his first glimpse of the Capital City. Little, we presume, did the young sergeant expect to make himself one of the most conspicuous men at the capital in later years.

No doubt these Ohio boys had their dreams of the future, but those were dark days. The enemy's breastworks were not far from the capital itself. The future of the country was an unknown quantity, or at least appeared so; and the future of every man in that Ohio regiment was a very doubtful quantity, for they well knew that they were directly in front of the enemy with the best part of his forces. Only a few hours did they enjoy the sights of the capital before the order came for the advance upon Frederick, and immediately came two of the important engagements of the war — South Mountain and Antietam.

The battle of South Mountain took place on the day after the Twenty-third arrived in Middletown. Referring to the engagement in an oration he delivered before the Ohio Wesleyan University, at Delaware, Ohio, in 1893, Governor McKinley said: "It was a lovely September day, an ideal Sunday morning. McClellan's army, with Burnside's corps in front, was passing up the mountain by the National Road. General Cox's Ohio division led Burnside's corps, and the Twenty-third Ohio was in the lead of that division. Hayes was ordered to take one of the mountain paths, and move to the right of the rebels. At nine o'clock the rebel picket was driven back, and on our



MCKINLEY'S REGIMENT AT THE BATTLE OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN.—COLONEL (afterwards President)
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES WOUNDED.

pushing forward, the rebels advanced upon us in strong force. Our regiment was quickly formed in the woods, and charged over rocks and broken ground, through deep underbrush under the heavy fire of the enemy at short range, and after one of the hottest fights of the war, we drove them out of the woods into an open field near the hilltop. Another charge was ordered by Hayes. No sooner had he given the word of command than a minie ball from the enemy shattered his arm above the elbow, crushing the bone to fragments. He called to a soldier to tie his handkerchief about the wound, but, turning faint, he fell, his men passing over and beyond him into the fight, whence he had ordered them. When he regained consciousness, Hayes found himself under a heavy fire, with the bullets pelting the ground all about him. He feared that his men were retreating, but he was soon reassured, when on calling out he was carried safely into friendly cover."

This is the story of the battle as McKinley tells it to show the bravery of Hayes, the commander; but while McKinley says nothing of himself, the story shows how fiercely the battle raged, and how bravely the Ohio boys marched into a terrific fire. McKinley's regiment made three successful charges in that fight, and lost nearly two hundred men — half of the effective force — in action. The charges were all with the bayonet, which shows that the Ohio boys were in the thick of the fight most of the time. Although the loss of the Union forces was great, the enemy's loss was heavier.

"The colors of the regiment were riddled," says White-law Reid in his 'Ohio in the War,' "the blue field was almost entirely carried away by shells and bullets."

After Hayes was wounded, Major Comly took command of the regiment, and led it with his accustomed bravery the rest of the day. Many interesting incidents are told of the battle. So hotly was the ground disputed that in many cases the wounded on both sides were left huddled in the same shelter, and the Union boys and Confederates who were able to converse, talked over the war in a friendly manner, which always seems to have been the case when they were not actually engaged in firing at each other.

"What regiment do you belong to, and where are you from?" asked a wounded Northern officer of a Confederate lying close by. The southerner answered that he was major of a North Carolina regiment.

"Well, you came a long way to fight us," said the northerner.

"Where are you from?" asked the Confederate major.

"I am from Ohio."

"Well, you came a good way to fight us."

And the enemies continued to talk in that friendly manner while the fight was raging fiercely about them.

McKinley and his comrades were perfectly well aware that this bloody day's work was only the beginning of more serious business directly ahead of them. The real purpose of the Confederates was to capture the city of Washington, in the expectation that Maryland would join their cause and insure final victory. The battle of South Mountain forced General Lee to retreat over the Antietam to Sharpsburg. For the next two days sharp skirmishes took place between different detachments, and on the 17th the battle of Antietam began in earnest.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND LIEUTENANT AT NINETEEN — PROMOTED FOR BRAVERY AT ANTIETAM.

Antietam, the Bloodiest Day of the Civil War—The Hard Struggle around the Corn-field Surrounded by Woods — Varying Fortunes of the Day — No time for Rest or for Refreshment — Famished and Thirsty — Stragglers give Commissary-Sergeant McKinley an Idea — Two Mule Teams Loaded with Hot Coffee and Hot Meats — McKinley's Brave Dash under Constant Fire — Cheers for McKinley and his Coffee — Fighting with Renewed Energy — The Day Won — McKinley Promoted to be Second Lieutenant for his Gallantry — Heading off Morgan's Remarkable Raid — The Terrible March to Join Crook — Penetrating a Country Infested with Guerrillas.

THE enemy in retiring behind Antietam Creek, had succeeded in occupying a strong position — a rugged and wooded plateau, descending to the banks of the Antietam, which at that point is a deep stream, with few fords, and crossed by three stone bridges. On all favorable points the enemy's artillery was posted, and their reserves, hidden from view by the hills on which their line of battle was formed, could manoeuver without being seen by the Union army. From the shortness of their line, they could also easily reinforce any point which needed strengthening. The 16th was spent in reconnoitering and in hurrying up the ammunition and supply trains, which

had been delayed by the rapid march of the troops. During the day, the enemy opened a heavy fire of artillery, which was promptly returned.

By daylight on the 17th, having crossed the Antietam by the bridge on the Hagerstown Road, General Hooker attacked the enemy's forces in front of him, and drove them from the open field in front of the first line of woods, into a second line of woods beyond. Here the battle raged fiercely for a time, and swayed to and fro with varying fortunes. The scene of the heaviest fighting was a piece of plowed land nearly inclosed by woods, and entered by a cornfield in the rear of the crest of the hill.

Our troops suffered severely — the loss in officers and men was frightful — but towards the end of the day an order was given to retake the woods and cornfield, which had been so hotly contested, and it was executed in a most gallant style. The enemy was driven out, and the federal troops were in undisputed possession of the whole field.

The Twenty-third Ohio, to which young Sergeant McKinley belonged, was right in the heat of one of the hottest fights of that campaign. It was a bloody day. The total loss to the Union army in killed, wounded, and missing, was 12,409 — that of the Confederates was at least as great. The Ohio men had gone into the battle at daylight, without breakfast, without even coffee. Raging as the battle did, it was not strange that early in the afternoon the men were famished and thirsty, and to some extent broken in spirit. The attack of the enemy was fierce and constant, and no troops could be spared to go to the rear for refreshments.

It was in this situation that Sergeant McKinley, realizing the weakness of the men, and what caused it, con-

ceived a bold scheme to relieve them. He was in charge of the commissary department of his brigade, and necessarily his post of duty was with the commissary supplies, which were probably two miles from where his famished and exhausted comrades were fighting to hold their position and for their lives. As has always been the case in hot fights of that kind, there were some stragglers who, instead of staying at the front in defense of their position, found their way back to the supplies of the commissary department.

McKinley saw that he could utilize these stragglers to get together provisions and coffee, and carry them to the front. This was about the time when the fortunes of war were swaying to and fro, and it was doubtful whether Antietam would be a victory or a defeat. It was nearly dark, when suddenly there was heard tremendous cheering along the left of the Twenty-third Ohio. General Scammon sent an officer, General Botsford, now of Youngstown, to ascertain the cause of the Union cheering, and he galloped off to find that they were cheers for McKinley and his coffee.

It required no ordinary bravery to leave his safe position at the commissary quarters and take the needed refreshments to the boys at the front. It had to be done in the midst of a desperate fight, with bullets and balls flying from all directions. He had filled two wagons, to which mules were attached, with cans of coffee and supplies, and with the help of those whom he had brought into service, hurried them to the front. This boy of nineteen pushed on towards his regiment, was ordered back several times, but he did not stop. The mules of one wagon became disabled under

the fire, but with the other wagon he succeeded in reaching his regiment, receiving their hearty cheers.

Such an act not only required bravery, but showed that McKinley was possessed of ability to grasp the requirements of circumstances. It is doubtful if the Twenty-third Ohio, gallant as it was, could have endured the Confederate onslaught on its position to the end of that bloody day or have had the courage to make that last successful charge had it not received the needed refreshments; for, as we have said, the men had gone into the battle without breakfast, and one act of bravery inspires another. It was not long after this occurred that the successful charge by the Union forces at Antietam was made, and the day closed to the advantage of the Union side at most points, even though it was not a decided success. Taken, however, with the battle of South Mountain, the result was to put the Confederates on the defensive. Lee retreated to the left bank of the Potomac, and the immediate danger to Washington was over.

Colonel Hayes was wounded in the battle of South Mountain, as related in a previous chapter, and could not participate in the battle of Antietam; but the news of McKinley's gallantry reached his ears, and when he went to Ohio to recover from his wounds, as he relates himself, he called upon Governor Tod, and told him of McKinley and his coffee.

"Let McKinley be promoted from sergeant to lieutenant," said the war governor of Ohio.

In order that there might be no slip about it, Colonel Hayes was requested to put it on the roster of the regiment, which he did, and McKinley was promoted. In 1891,



McKINLEY SERVING HOT COFFEE TO HIS REGIMENT IN THE THICKEST OF THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.
"Every man in the regiment was served with hot coffee and warm meats, a thing which had never occurred under similar circumstances in any other army in the world. He passed under fire, and delivered with his own hands these things so essential for the men for whom he was laboring." — EX-PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

when McKinley had received his first nomination for governor, he was asked to address a religious gathering at Lakeside, Ohio. Ex-President Hayes was there to introduce him, and in his speech he told the circumstances of McKinley's brave act at Antietam. "From his hands," said ex-President Hayes, "every man in the regiment was served with hot coffee and warm meats, a thing which had never occurred under similar circumstances in any other army in the world. He passed under fire, and delivered with his own hands these things so essential for the men for whom he was laboring."

Colonel Hayes kept notes regularly from day to day of what was transpiring. When he went to Lakeside to introduce McKinley, he hunted up the old notebook of that period to see what it contained, and he found this entry:

"Saturday, 13th December, 1862. Our new Second Lieutenant, McKinley, returned to-day — an exceedingly bright, intelligent, and gentlemanly young officer. He promises to be one of the best. He has kept the promise in every sense of the word."

The battle of Antietam occurred on September 17, 1862. The official records show that McKinley's promotion to second lieutenant of Company D occurred September 23, 1862 — six days after his gallant act. It was the day after that memorable day in the history of the war and the history of the country, that President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation.

Early in October, 1862, the Twenty-third Ohio was ordered, with the rest of the Kanawha division, to return to West Virginia, back over the same ground over which they had marched southward but a little while before. By

November the regiment had reached its winter quarters near the falls of the Great Kanawha. During that year it had marched over six hundred miles.

The men built for themselves cabins of planks and logs, so as to pass the winter as comfortably as the soldier could. The camp was named in honor of Colonel Hayes' wife, Camp Lucy Hayes. Late in January she came on from her Ohio home with her three boys to visit the colonel; other ladies also joined their husbands in camp. Mrs. Hayes performed many acts of kindness to the boys, who were proud of her presence, cheering them up if they manifested any signs of homesickness, and providing for the comfort of the fever-stricken in the hospital.

Thus passed away the time for eight months — from November, 1862, to July, 1863. How much longer the regiment might have stayed there with no chance for active warfare, is a question, had not the Morgan raid occurred in July. Morgan crossed the Cumberland at Burkesville with about 2,500 men, and struck through the State of Kentucky to the Ohio River. In five days he reached the river about sixty-five miles below Louisville, seized two steamers by which he sent his men across the river, thence pushing on through Southern Indiana towards Cincinnati, riding fifty and sixty miles a day, burning bridges, cutting telegraph wires, and leaving general consternation behind him. He passed on so swiftly and so secretly that on the afternoon of the 14th he had reached a point only twenty-eight miles east of Cincinnati. The raiders dashed on, meeting with very little fighting in their course. The Twenty-third Ohio heard of Morgan's presence in their State by the 16th of July, and Colonel Hayes prepared to head him off. He

did it with dispatch. Choosing two regiments and a section of artillery, and embarking his force, he reached Gallipolis on the 18th. A little further on, Hayes's forces met the raiders, and after a slight skirmish Morgan fled, and the Twenty-third was sent in pursuit. Next day the raiders were entirely routed, more than half of them were captured, and later on Morgan surrendered with the remnant of his men, and was sent to the Ohio Penitentiary.

The Twenty-third returned from this raid, with the rest of Hayes's command, where it lay for another long and dreary season in camp, until April 29, 1864. The interval, however, was a season of expectation and preparation for various services. When the regiment finally moved in April, it was to a point a few miles above Brownstown, on the Kanawha, to join the forces under General Crook in a raid on the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad.

Without detailing their daily marches, it is sufficient to say that the regiment toiled over the rugged mountains, up ravines, and through the dense woods, meeting with snows and rain in sufficient volume to appal the stoutest hearts; but they toiled patiently, occasionally brushing the enemy out of their way, until on the 9th of May, 1864, the battle of Cloyd Mountain was fought.

McKinley himself says of this march: "It was a rough and trying march over mountains and through deep ravines and dense woods, with snows and rains that would have checked the advance of any but the most determined. Daily we were brought in contact with the enemy. We penetrated a country where guerrillas were abundant, and where it was not an unusual thing for our men to be shot from the underbrush — murdered in cold blood."

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST LIEUTENANT AT TWENTY—BATTLE OF CLOYD MOUNTAIN.

McKinley's Rapid Promotion—Made First Lieutenant—His Tact and Ability—Debates in Winter Quarters—The Expedition to Join General Crook—Tiresome Marches over a Rough Country—Skirmishes with the Enemy—A Dash across the Meadows, through the Stream, and up the Hill—Shaking the Water out of their Boots—A Terrible Charge and a Murderous Fire—Scaling the Fortifications—Hand to Hand Struggle in the Fort—Rebels Driven Out—Burning the Bridges—Crossing the Alleghanies Four Times and the Blue Ridge Twice—Marching a Day and all Night without Sleeping—Arrival at Winchester.

THE lad of eighteen who had insisted upon enlisting in defense of the Union, had not yet seen two years of service, but his promotion had been rapid. Hayes had been quick to observe the diligence and tact of the young man in camp, and had placed him in the important position of commissary-sergeant. His next promotion was earned after his display of foresight and bravery at Antietam; but it was only four months after he had earned that deserved advancement before he received another. This third promotion, like his first, occurred during life in the winter quarters, and he was made first lieutenant of Company E, February 7, 1863. In all the arrangements of the camp

near the falls of the Great Kanawha, from October, 1862, until July of the next year, McKinley, as the second lieutenant of Company D, had taken an interested and active part. Some of the pleasantest recollections of the veterans of the Twenty-third Ohio concerned that winter at Camp "Lucy Hayes." There were such amusements as camp life afforded, for there was little or no active business to be done except in drilling. There was some riding, fishing, and boating, and now and then a pleasure excursion. Everything that could be done for the comfort of the Ohio boys was done, and Lieutenant McKinley showed his skill and executive management in whatever duties he had to perform.

Stories are told also of interesting debates that occurred in those days of waiting, in which McKinley took an active part, and gave evidence then of the marvelous power which later made him famous, of going straight to the point of disputed questions. We can only guess at some of the subjects that were debated that winter, for they probably concerned the course of the war. In November, 1862, General McClellan was relieved of his command of the Army of the Potomac, and General Burnside moved to the Rappahannock, where the battle of Fredericksburg took place. General Sherman was active at Vicksburg in December. Active steps were taken that winter in Congress for prosecuting the war vigorously until the rebellion should be suppressed. These, and other events, we may rest assured, constituted subjects for discussion about the camp fires and for those little debates in winter quarters.

It was, therefore, as first lieutenant of company E, that McKinley took part in the important battle of Cloyd

Mountain, which followed the movement to join the forces of General Crook. In this affair, the Twenty-third was on the right of the First brigade, which was commanded by Colonel Hayes. The other regiments were mainly Ohio troops accustomed to service under him, and, like the Twenty-third, eager for the fight, even after so difficult and wearying a march. The object of the expedition was to destroy the Virginia and Tennessee railroad bridge on New River, which would cut the great line of communications between Richmond and the Southwest. General Crook was still a young man, but he had already won distinction in the Indian service, and he brought his peculiar shrewdness to work in this undertaking. Marching up the Kanawha, he sent all his music, with one regiment, ahead toward Leesburg, in the direction of Richmond, while he proceeded in a different direction towards the New River bridge. The bands, thus detached, were ordered to play as if the whole army were behind them. The first result of this was the bloodless capture of Fort Breckenridge, out of which the enemy fled at the approach of what seemed to be an immense force. On the parapet of this fort, the words "Fort Breckenridge" had been handsomely carved; but the Ohio men immediately went to work to substitute the words, "Fort Crook."

Soon after, the Confederates, discovering that they had been frightened out of the fort, hurried back. A considerable force of them was gathered under General Jenkins, who placed his army across the track of Crook's men, some distance southward, where they were forced to traverse a high mountain ridge, which was called Cloyd Mountain, and here the enemy was entrenched. The ridge was thickly

wooded, steep and difficult to ascend, and was skirted by a stream of water from two to three feet deep. The approach was through a beautiful meadow, five or six thousand yards in width.

Crook's men arrived shortly before midday on the 9th, and quickly came within cannon shot of the enemy, who opened fire upon them. It was clear at the start that Jenkins was very strongly fortified, and that his position could not be taken without the hottest kind of fighting. One attack was made and repulsed, when General Crook came to Colonel Hayes and ordered him, with his brigade and the brigade on his right, to cross the meadow and charge up the hill upon the batteries, adding that he would accompany him. The two brigades formed in the borders of the woods and marched up in perfect line. At the word of command, the regiment advanced at a double-quick across the meadow, under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, until it came to the edge of the woods. The Confederate fortifications on the woody hill could not be seen, and at the foot of the hill was the creek, which had also remained unseen; but the Ohio boys dashed through it, and started up the hill at a point so steep that the ground above protected them from the enemy's fire. Stopping for a minute to take breath, and shake the water out of their boots, they charged up the hill again.

But as they passed over the protecting curve of the hill, they faced a murderous fire. Officers and men fell in fearful slaughter on all sides. For a moment the whole line seemed to waver and go down, but the men who were not hit pushed on — there was no straggling. The officers called for a charge, the men responded cheerfully and were soon

at the fort, which was an earthwork rather hastily thrown up and strengthened with fence rails stuck endwise into it and through it. It was a very difficult embankment to surmount, and the enemy held it in perfect confidence.

All accounts of the battle state that Hayes's men were the first to scramble over the enemy's fortifications, and were the bravest in that fierce struggle for the guns. The first to reach one of the enemy's guns was Private Kosht, a boy of eighteen, a new recruit in Company G, of which Lieutenant McKinley was soon to be made the captain. He sprang from the line with a shout, and hung his cap on the muzzle of one of the enemy's cannons.

Hayes was greatly pleased with the bravery of his men, and in this engagement, as in others, he recognized the superior qualities of McKinley as a soldier. In a letter written home ten days later, Hayes says: "My command in battles and on the march behaved to my entire satisfaction; none did, none could have done, better. We had a most conspicuous part in the battle of Cloyd Mountain, and were so lucky ! I hardly know what I would change in it except to restore life and limb to the killed and wounded."

In the only reference which we can find to this desperate battle in McKinley's speeches, he says: "The advance across the meadow in full sight of the enemy, and in range of their guns through the creek, and up over the ridge, was magnificently executed, and the hand-to-hand combat in the fort was as desperate as any witnessed during the war. Still another charge was made and the rebels again driven back. On we hurried to Dublin Depot, on the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, burning the bridges there, tearing up the track, and rendering the railroad useless for

the transportation of soldiers or supplies. Then the New River bridge was destroyed, and then with frequent encounters we went on to Staunton, Va."

At Staunton on the 8th of June, the Ohio brigade joined General Hunter's command, and on the 11th, the corps arrived before Lexington, which was taken after an artillery and sharp-shooter fight for three hours.

On the 14th, the Ohio brigade was led to within two miles of Lynchburg, where it drove a body of the enemy up the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, capturing four pieces of their artillery. That night the army camped near Lynchburg, and so near a body of rebels that the men of both sides took rails from the same fence for their fires. After lying in camp for four days, the command set out to Lynchburg, when the news came that the enemy, heavily reinforced, was about to attack Hunter's center. The Union forces met and repulsed this attack, which was a very sharp one; but the same evening it was found that reinforcements for the enemy were pouring in from Richmond, and the retreat of the Union side began, with a rapid march toward the town of Liberty.

McKinley, in speaking of the retreat, said: "All our commissary supplies were consumed, and almost without food we marched and fought our way back, closely pursued by the enemy."

But the men never faltered, and no murmurs were heard. Occasionally men would drop out exhausted, but not a word of complaint was spoken. They reached Buford Gap about 10 o'clock on the morning of the 20th; Salem about 9 a. m. the next day. The skirmishing continued without any intermission until 10 o'clock that night, when they reached

the foot of North Mountain and enjoyed a little sleep. At last, on the 27th, a supply train was met on Big Sewell Mountain, and to use Hayes's words: "We stopped and ate, marched and ate, camped about dark, and ate all night."

In those nine days, the Ohio men marched 180 miles, fighting nearly all the time, with very little rest, very little eating, and very little chance for either. They had crossed three ranges of the Alleghanies four times, the ranges of the Blue Ridge twice, and marched several times all day and all night without sleep.

It is a strong comment upon the will power of McKinley, who just before his enlistment had been compelled to leave his college life because of impaired health, that he was able to endure, without sickness or serious mishap, not only the warm engagements in which the Twenty-third Ohio had participated, but some of the severest and most exhausting marches in the war.

Remaining at Charleston until the 10th, Crook's command was ordered East to meet Early, then invading Maryland and Pennsylvania. On the 18th, the Ohio men were sent without cavalry and with but two sections of howitzer battery to attack more than 20,000 of Early's men, about ten miles beyond Harper's Ferry. They cut their way through two divisions of rebel cavalry which surrounded them, and got safely back to camp, joining Crook at Winchester on the 22d. Here, two days afterward, the Ohio regiment shared in the first defeat it had known, but it was a battle in which McKinley made himself conspicuous for his bravery.

CHAPTER VIII.

McKINLEY AT KERNSTOWN — A RIDE IN THE FACE OF DEATH.

Deceived as to Early's Movements — Crook's Troops Left Alone in the Field — Worn Out by Hard Marches and Fighting — Aroused by the Booming of Cannon on a Bright Sunday Morning — Preparing for the Battle — Ohio Men Led to the Front of the Line — Lieutenant McKinley one of the Staff Officers — Gallant Resistance of the Staff Brigade — Hayes Sends McKinley on a Dangerous Mission — He Gallops across the Field in Front of the Enemy — Shells Burst about him and Cannon Balls Plough the Ground in his Path — Saving the Guns from the Enemy — He comforts an Old Lady.

AFTER a wearisome retreat from a raid against Early's forces, it was thought that the Confederates were at a safe distance, and would occasion no further trouble for some little time, and the exhausted Ohio regiment prepared for a season of much-needed rest at a camp near Winchester, where there was one of the noted springs of the valley gushing in abundance from a crevice in the limestone rock. The boys rolled themselves in their blankets, and laid down in the long grass under the shade of the towering oak trees, and devoted the better part of two days to sleep, of which they had enjoyed so little in their long campaign. It was supposed by General Grant that General Lee had ordered Early with his large army to Richmond, and as

Grant thought he needed more troops with him before Richmond, he had ordered two corps to that place. This left only Hunter's command in the valley to confront the Confederates, supposed to have been left in the valley, and this command consisted of General Crook's Eighth Infantry corps, about six thousand in number, with one brigade made up of decimated infantry regiments and dismounted cavalry. Many of the men also had, as we have seen, been through severe marches and could hardly have felt in condition to meet a rebel army several times their number. There was in addition to this force some cavalry under Generals Averill and Duffie, about two thousand strong. The Eighth Infantry corps, which took such an important part in this battle, was a brigade commanded by Hayes.

General Early had halted at Strasburg, and while there had learned that Grant had withdrawn two corps towards Washington, and that the forces at Winchester consisted only of those of Crook, and he knew that they were not more than one-third his own numbers. He determined, therefore, to return and crush Crook without delay. Of Early's change of plans and reapproach, Crook had no information. In this situation it was not long before the resting spell of the Ohio boys came to a sudden close.

On July 24th, a bright Sunday morning, their attention was attracted to the sound of cannon well out on their front, towards the south. They usually paid little attention to this sort of thing, knowing that the cavalry was apt to be engaged with skirmishers at almost any time, but the frequency of the firing increasing, Crook's troops began to suspect that there was a battle ahead of them. Very soon word of the approach of the enemy was brought to General

Crook by cavalry outposts, on the Valley pike, some ten miles south of Winchester, who had been driven in by what appeared to be a large force, but General Crook, relying on the information he had obtained, that Early was still on his way to Richmond, concluded that it was unnecessary to immediately move out and form a line of battle. But message after message continuing to arrive at his headquarters reporting large bodies of the enemy's infantry as having been seen, he finally ordered his troops to advance and form a line of battle at a little hamlet called Kernstown, some four miles south of Winchester, the place where General Shields had met and repulsed Stonewall Jackson in 1862.

Crook still supposed that the enemy in sight was only a section bent upon reconnoissance, and he dispatched Hayes with his brigade to meet what he supposed was this small contingent of the enemy, with orders to join his right to that of another brigade commanded by Colonel Mulligan, and charge with it. The brigade marched out in the open field, where Hayes, conferring with Mulligan, found that their orders coincided. They were to keep the two lines together, and attack whatever was in front. At first, only two lines of rebels, fighting as skirmishers, were in sight, but very soon Hayes and Mulligan received reports of the enemy on the hills to the right and to the left, enclosing the valley in which the brigade was drawn up. Upon closer inspection, the more numerous appeared the forces of the enemy in these strong positions.

The officers saw that they were in a trap, but they obeyed orders and pushed forward. Crook saw then for the first time that he had been deceived about Early's march to Richmond. Sharp firing began all along the line of bat-

tle, the federal artillery on the high ground at the rear firing over the heads of the infantry, and the enemy's artillery replying at once with shells that exploded all about the Ohio men. It was a discouraging situation. There they were, only about six thousand strong — some regiments decimated, and many of the men in a weak condition — surrounded by a veteran army of perhaps twenty thousand. The infantry line of the enemy extended far beyond the left of Hayes's brigade, and further away the Confederate cavalry were charging the Union cavalry forces, and driving them back in great confusion.

The situation was such that however gallantly the infantry might keep back the Confederates in front, the long advancing line on the left, with nothing to oppose it, would soon engulf the whole little army. This was the plan Early carried out for crushing the Union forces, and when closing in, the nondescript brigade near the center of the Union line broke in great confusion. It was not until this occurred, and not until they had administered some severe punishment to the enemy directly in front of them, that the Ohio boys fell back, retreating, however, in good order. It was an exciting and dangerous moment. All that they could hope to do was to extricate themselves. The staff officers were busy sending orders in all directions — to some one to repair rapidly to the rear, so as to form a guard line and stop the stragglers; to another to push back to the rear and order the wagon train in full retreat towards Martinsburg; to another to proceed to the battery and order it to form rapidly on an adjacent ridge and play with shot and shell upon the advancing enemy, and so it was that this class of staff officers became exceedingly scarce. It is said that

Crook was at one time absolutely without a staff officer about him, having already borrowed of Hayes several, and still he had need for more.

It was just at this important moment that Lieutenant McKinley performed one of the most daring feats of the Civil war, showing his thorough devotion to duty, and his bravery in the face of death. One of the regiments, Colonel Brown's, had failed to fall back, owing to lack of orders, and was still in the orchard, where posted at the beginning of the battle. It was in an extremely dangerous position, suffering severely, and could not hold out much longer, though bravely refusing to yield its ground. General Hayes — as the story is told by General Hastings — turning to Lieutenant McKinley, directed him to go and bring away that regiment if it had not already fallen into the hands of the enemy. Quick as a flash McKinley turned his horse and pushed it at a fierce gallop obliquely across the fields towards the advancing rebels. It was a sad look that Hayes gave to this gallant boy officer as he saw him pushing rapidly towards what seemed almost certain death. Hayes loved McKinley like a brother, but he knew it was his duty to save that regiment if he could, and he knew that McKinley would do it if it could be done. Throughout the regiment McKinley was much loved, going as he did into the war as a mere boy, and showing upon so many occasions so much bravery and tact. They had seen him rapidly promoted because of these qualities over many older than himself, and they admired and liked him.

We could imagine, therefore, what the feelings of Hayes and the Ohio boys were when they saw McKinley urging his horse through the open fields, over fences and through

ditches, while the enemy was pouring a rapid and well-directed fire upon him, shells exploding about him, and balls ploughing the ground in his path. His Ohio comrades never expected to see him alive again. Once he was completely enveloped in the smoke of an exploding shell — they thought it was all over, that another gallant soldier had bitten the dust — but the wiry little horse emerged from it, with McKinley still firmly seated. Then there was a moment of relief. His path had led him to a position where he was under cover for a time, and out of much danger from the enemy's fire, but the greater danger was still ahead, for the enemy was still coming on, and McKinley must again ride out into the open field and into the very face of death.

The batteries which Crook had placed on the ridge near by kept the enemy in check at this important moment for a little, and McKinley galloped up to the endangered regiment and gave the orders of Hayes to fall back, saying to the Colonel, "I should have supposed you would have gone to the rear without orders."

"I was thinking I would retreat without waiting any longer for orders," said the colonel; "I am now ready to go wherever you lead, but, lieutenant, I just want to give those fellows one or two more volleys before I go."

"Then up and let them have it as quickly as possible," replied McKinley.

The regiment jumped to its feet and came into full view. The West Virginia boys gave the enemy a fresh volley, following it up with a sharp fire, and then, McKinley leading the way back, they slowly retreated towards some woods directly in the rear. Most of the brigade had been turned back to the wooded hill, where it held its ground,



ONE OF THE BRAVE DEEDS ON THE BATTLE-FIELD FOR WHICH MCKINLEY WAS PROMOTED.

His Ohio comrades never expected to see him alive again. Once he was completely enveloped in the smoke of an exploded shell but his wiry horse emerged from it with McKinley firmly seated.

the enemy pressing hard on all sides. This section finally made good its escape around the Winchester pike. At a point near Winchester McKinley brought the regiment he had saved to the column, and to its place in the brigade. As McKinley drew up by the side of Hayes to make his verbal report, Hayes said, "I never expected to see you in life again." His Ohio comrades knew that one of the most gallant acts of the war had been performed.

The retreat continued until midnight. When the enemy pressed too hard, the Union forces turned and beat him back, and so finally made good their escape, but it was a very harrassing battle all the way. They marched down the pike, first through Winchester where the inhabitants were out in force, some sympathizing with the Union forces and some not, the jubilant faces outnumbering the sad ones. The story is told of one old Quaker lady who stood at her gate as McKinley and his comrades passed by, tears running down her cheeks in pity for the gallant Union soldiers in this misfortune. Mindful of her safety with her Confederate neighbors close by, the boys made no effusive display of sympathy for her in her sorrow. But, McKinley, in the kindness of his heart, reigned his horse to the curbstone, and in a low voice said to the old lady, out of hearing of her neighbors, "Don't worry, my dear Madam, we are not hurt as much as it seems, and we shall be back again in a few days." Her tearful face lit up with a smile of joy.

After the regiment had passed Winchester, the rebel infantry caused less annoyance, but the cavalry pushed on and harrassed the men during all the afternoon. Towards midnight the enemy ceased to pursue, and the Union forces

changed their column into a route march, and tramped on in comparative peace, many of the men embracing their first opportunity to think of food. As they were trudging along, wondering where they would find the balance of the command and the wagon train, it was discovered that at some time during the previous afternoon there had been a stampede of the wagon train, and several wagons had been abandoned and left on the road. No food was in them and they were soon reduced to ashes to make them useless to the enemy. Further along they came upon a battery of artillery consisting of four guns and their caissons which had been abandoned and left in the way, an easy capture for the enemy. It would hardly be supposed that McKinley or any of the officers who had been fighting all day and were eager to find food would think of stopping to take the trouble to rescue those guns, but here it was again that McKinley showed his character. He asked the privilege of carrying away these guns and thus saving them from the enemy. It did not seem to the superior officers practicable, owing to the exhausted condition of the men, but he insisted it could be done.

"The Twenty-third will help me," said McKinley.

"Well, McKinley, ask them," replied Hayes.

He went to his company, called for volunteers, and every man stepped out. Their spirit invigorated the whole regiment, which took hold at once and hauled the guns and caissons off in triumphant procession. That night, long after dark, when they went into camp, the artillery captain, who had been obliged to leave his guns, was found, and, as the story is told, when the guns were turned over to him he cried like a child.



McKINLEY SAVING UNION ARTILLERY AT THE BATTLE OF KERNSTOWN.
"McKinley called for volunteers and every man stepped out. Their example invigorated the whole regiment, which took hold at once and hauled the guns and caissons off in triumphal procession."

CHAPTER IX.


A CAPTAIN AT TWENTY-ONE — AID-DE-CAMP ON SHERIDAN'S STAFF.

McKinley's Quick Promotion after his Heroic Conduct at Kernstown — Made Captain of one of the Bravest Companies in the Twenty-third — Acting on Sheridan's Staff — Daily Skirmishes in the Shenandoah Valley — Fierce Engagement at Berryville — McKinley's Horse Shot under him — Firing Stopped by the Surgeons and Burial Parties — Battle of Opequan — Must Cross a Slough or Die — Fierce Charge up a Steep Bank — Reinforcements from the Cavalry — Complete Dispersion of the Rebels — McKinley's Quickness of Action and Good Judgment — Acting without Definite Orders — Gaining Still Further Honors — Battle of Fisher's Hill.

BRAVERY of the kind that McKinley displayed at Kernstown did not pass unappreciated or unrewarded. Hayes was deeply affected by the act. Crook admired the nerve of the Ohio boy, and we find the official records stating that on the next day, July 25, 1864, Lieutenant McKinley was promoted to the captaincy of Company G, which had the reputation of being one of the bravest of the Twenty-third Ohio. Thus in three years, and at the age of twenty-one, he had gained a conspicuous position in campaigns, which, taken together, can safely be called some of the hardest of the war. For almost a month after the severe experiences at Kernstown, the Ohio boys were a part

of Hayes's brigade engaged in almost daily skirmishes up and down the Shenandoah Valley, with varying fortune, until the 23d of August, at Halltown, they repulsed an attack with a brilliant dash, and picked up "a small South Carolina regiment entire." This charge was so brilliantly executed, and caused so much astonishment among the rebel prisoners, that one of them was forced to express his surprise in the rather characteristic query: "Who the —— are you 'uns?"

Another engagement of more than usual fierceness, in the thickest of which McKinley and his comrades were called upon to act, took place on the 3d of December at Berryville. It was a long fight without a decisive victory, although many rebels were killed and taken. They belonged to Longstreet's crack division, and relying on their reputation they had gone into the battle with wild yells, but the Ohio men gave them worse than they took, and drove them back with tremendous slaughter. In the encounter, Captain McKinley's horse was shot under him. Towards evening the Union forces attempted to hold a piece of turnpike road by which a body of cavalry, sent out to cut off the supplies in the rear of Early's army, were to rejoin the division. The men were posted behind the terrace wall for about a mile along the road, and the enemy began the battle by a charge, coming within a few yards of the wall. The Ohio boys rose with a yell, poured a deadly fire into the enemy's ranks, and then charged. The rebels were thrown into wild disorder, turned and ran, being pursued to their reserve line. There they rallied, and by a gallant stand repulsed the Union forces, who took cover in a piece of woods.



Then occurred a very strange situation. It had grown very dark. The commanders on both sides wished to withdraw their men. Hayes received orders to stop the battle if he could, and it seems the rebels were quite as willing to do so on their part. But neither side would stop until the other stopped. The men on both sides were ordered to let the fire drop, and so less and less frequently came the shots, until at last there was only here and there the flash of a rifle in the darkness. Then suddenly at some point three or four would fire by chance together, and thinking the battle was raging again, the whole of both sides would engage. And so the firing kept up without the retirement of either army until the surgeons and burying parties from both sides began to mingle together with lanterns, looking for the wounded and the dead between the two opposing forces. When these dim lights flitting over the bloody field appeared, the firing ceased, and the forces withdrew.

Speaking of the engagement, McKinley said: "It will not soon be forgotten. It was a brilliant scene; the heavens were fairly illuminated by the flashes of our own and the enemy's guns. Later, when both armies determined to retire, it became my duty to direct a regiment at some distance from the others to move. A stranger in the darkness, I knew nothing of that country. When I started on my mission, some one on the other side was doing just what I was, as I could tell from what I could hear. I had not gone far until I was halted by a sentinel with 'Who comes there?' The distinct Southern brogue was warning, and I hastened the other way. Very soon I was stopped with 'Who comes there?' and I recognized friends. I gave the countersign, and soon had the regiment moving."

After this affair, there was a lull in the hostilities until the 19th, when the battle of Opequan was fought, and here McKinley further distinguished himself by his quick action and good judgment. It was near Winchester, where, two months before, the Ohio boys had been caught in a trap, and so gallantly made their escape. The fight began at daylight, and during the morning the tide was rather against the Union forces. At noon, things looked dark on the Union side, but at this time, while the Confederates were rejoicing over an apparent victory, Hayes's brigade led the charge through a swamp, or what was really a deep creek with high banks and boggy margins.

The rebel fire fell upon the boys in all its fury as their line reached this formidable obstacle. There was a moment's wavering, but they saw it was death to stop then. The men swarmed over as best they could, and when some two score had landed, they charged up the bank upon the enemy, whose artillery had been left entirely unsupported at that point, not dreaming of an attack. The batteries were taken, and then the whole of Crook's command having crossed, a charge was made in the face of a most destructive fire. At times, the Union boys wavered under the terrible storm of grape and musketry, but they pushed on, and at a critical moment, as General Hayes wrote in one of his letters, "That splendid cavalry with drawn sabres, moved slowly around our right beyond the creek, then at a trot, and finally with shouts and a gallop, charged right into the rebel lines. We pushed on, and away broke the rebels."

It was in the early part of the day, before Colonel Duval was wounded and carried from the field that McKinley showed his good judgment and quickness in execution. Act-



CHARGE OF MCKINLEY'S REGIMENT, THE TWENTY-THIRD OHIO, AT THE BATTLE OF
SOUTH MOUNTAIN.

A gallant charge was made by the whole regiment and the enemy was dislodged and driven into the woods.



ing as aid-de-camp on Sheridan's staff, he brought a verbal order to Colonel Duval to move his command quickly to a position on the right of the Sixth corps. General Duval, not knowing the very uncertain topography of the country, asked McKinley:

"By what route shall I move my command?" It looked a very poor country for moving troops anywhere. Captain McKinley, knowing no more about the lay of the land than did Duval, and without any definite orders from his superior as to the way in which Duval was to move his troops, replied: "I would move by this creek."

"I will not budge an inch without definite orders," said Duval.

"This is a case of great emergency, General," replied McKinley. "I order you, by command of General Crook, to move your command up this ravine to a position on the right of the army."

The general did so. In a short time his division was in place, and made a gallant charge on the enemy in their fortified position, driving them in confusion from their works.

Had McKinley made a mistake in thus assuming so heavy a responsibility, he would probably have lost very much, if not all, that he had gained by so much bravery in previous engagements. His suggestion that Duval should move up the creek, was not a random one. It proved to be an evidence of good judgment, for General Harris, who had received his order to move to the same point a little earlier, and who had probably moved upon his own plans by another route, got into a thick woods, and did not reach the objective point until sometime after Duval, act-

ing upon McKinley's orders, had been in position and done considerable good fighting.

It is said that when Captain McKinley reported what he had done, the general said:

"That is all right, my boy, since the movement turned out successfully; but if it had resulted in disaster, it would have been all wrong."

Immediately after this engagement occurred the battle of Fisher's Hill, which McKinley says was "one of the most brilliant of the many brilliant achievements of General George Crook. It was a flank movement through the mountains and woods to the enemy's right. Never did troops advance with greater difficulty on what appeared to be an impossible route over the mountain side where it seemed the foot of man had never trod."

This battle was really more of a bloodless victory than a fight, and consisted largely in a capture of artillery by our forces, without the loss of a man, although the movement of the troops was very difficult. The enemy had retreated some twenty-five miles up the Shenandoah valley to a point where it is very narrow, and traversed by a little ridge called Fisher's Hill, where there was a natural fortification which seemed impregnable. Crook and Sheridan consulted, and the result was a resolution not to attack the enemy in front, though it was probable that an army, demoralized by so recent a defeat, could be broken, even in that position; but it was decided to turn their left. Crook took Hayes's division, the general and the colonel riding on together at the head of the men. They clambered up and down mountain sides and through ravines until they struck the gorge in which the rebels were posted, and there

Hayes led the charge of the Union forces, consisting largely of the Ohio men, by speeding ahead and down upon the rebel lines. The whole division followed with a shout, and the rebels, who were men of Jackson's old corps and Early's veterans, broke and ran in hopeless confusion, leaving every gun.

All discipline and organization of the rebels was lost; the retreating mass was scattered over the fields and roads towards Woodstock, with our infantry in pursuit. Through the night the pursuit was continued to Woodstock, ten miles from Fisher's Hill, which our infantry reached by daylight of the 23d, when a necessary halt was made to allow for rest and food, and to reorganize the troops, which had been thrown into some confusion by their rapid movements. The forces of the enemy had thus been practically driven from the valley, which, in its whole extent, was now in possession of the northern troops.

CHAPTER X.

A MAJOR AT TWENTY-TWO—CLOSE OF McKINLEY'S FIGHTING DAYS.

Battle of Cedar Creek —The Sound of Firing at Sunrise—Sheridan Starts for Winchester — Meeting Stragglers Going to the Rear — His Push to the Front — Rides up to McKinley as he is Rallying his Troops — Asks McKinley for Crook — Together they Gallop off to Find Crook — Cheers from the Troops — McKinley Helps Sheridan Take off his Overcoat — The Charge Against the Enemy — Rebels Swept out of Camp — Disaster Turned to Victory — McKinley Accompanies Crook to West Virginia — Brevetted Major for Bravery at Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek — At Washington When Lee Surrendered and When Lincoln was Shot — Mustered out.

CAPTAIN McKINLEY was still serving on the staff of General Crook when that notable engagement occurred, October 19, 1864, at Cedar Creek, to which General Sheridan made his famous ride, and in which Captain McKinley did further gallant service. Sheridan had been strongly urged by Grant and Halleck to continue southward and pursue the Confederates towards Charlottesville, but Sheridan considered the expedition impracticable, and being left free to act upon his own judgment, marched his army northward and was gradually followed by the Confederate forces, who on the 12th arrived again at Fisher's Hill. By the 14th the Union forces had been placed in a strong defensive position on the north bank of

Cedar Creek, Crook's division, in which McKinley's Ohio comrades were serving, holding the ground from the north bank of the Shenandoah to the valley pike.

General Sheridan had been summoned to Washington to consult concerning the future of the campaign in the valley ; considering that the army's position at Cedar Creek was secure, and leaving General Wright in command, he started for the capital. There he succeeded in securing the approval of his own plans, and started on his return to his troops, arriving at Winchester, about twelve miles north of Cedar Creek, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th. There he devoted the rest of the day to examining the ground that was proposed as a site of a position to be properly fortified for future occupation. After sunset a courier arrived from Cedar Creek, bringing word that everything was all right; that the enemy was quiet at Fisher's Hill, and that one of the corps of the Union army was ordered to make a reconnoissance on the right at daylight of the 19th. Thus reassured, General Sheridan rested quietly at Winchester. The faint sounds of irregular firing he heard early the next morning were supposed to result from the movements of the reconnoitering party, but the firing continued, and the sound of the cannonading became so frequent and distinct that the general determined to go at once to the front. By 9 o'clock he was on his way.

It is a pity to depreciate the romantic features with which the poetic imagination of Thomas Buchanan Reed invests Sheridan's ride. Sheridan himself, in his memoirs, strips the story of some of its poetic conceptions. On the morning of the battle, hearing the sound of guns, he rode at a moderate pace out of Winchester, until some little dis-

tance south of the town, when he began to meet on the road stragglers and numerous baggage wagons, and he was informed that serious disaster had overtaken the troops. From this time he pressed rapidly forward. The further he proceeded, the more the road became impeded with wagons and wounded men, and it became necessary for him to take to the fields to advance with speed. After a while he returned to the road again and found both sides lined with uninjured men, who, having gone far enough to the rear to be out of danger, had quietly settled down to rest, and were preparing their coffee and taking the breakfast that the enemy's attack at daylight had delayed.

On he passed through Newtown at a point about eight miles south of Winchester, where he came upon the first organized troops he had met, and Captain McKinley was doing his best to rally them. In fact, he had already succeeded. General Henry E. Davies, who served in the cavalry corps in the army of the Potomac under Sheridan, said in his excellent biography of the gallant commander that the enemy had just been driven back with heavy loss, and for a time desisted from further aggressive movement, before Sheridan came upon the field.

To return for a moment to the events at Cedar Creek; while Sheridan was at Winchester, the movements of the Confederates from Fisher's Hill, against the forces drawn up on the north bank of the Cedar Creek, began in the night. It was supposed that any Confederate attack would take place on the right of the Union line, because of the strong position on the high bank of the river held by Crook on the left. Accordingly, the right of the line had been strongly reinforced at the expense of the left.

General Early being aware of this, under cover of the darkness, gained a position on the rear of the left of General Crook's troops, where the unsuspecting Ohio boys were.

At 5 o'clock in the morning, while many of the Union men were asleep in their blankets, the Confederate firing was opened on their left and rear, and, taken by surprise, they were swept back in more or less confusion upon the other troops. General Wright, as soon as the engagement opened, did the best he could, and a good, strong, defensive position was taken with reinforced lines about four or five miles north of the Union camp. Then, as General Davies says in his biography of Sheridan:

"An attack was at once made upon these lines, but the Confederate forces had been somewhat broken by previous engagements, the hasty pursuit and the loss of many men who had remained to plunder the Confederate camp, and though our troops suffered severely, the enemy was driven back with heavy loss, and for the time desisted from further aggressive movement. Shortly after this repulse of the enemy, General Sheridan came on the field, and the further events of the day and the signal victory with which it closed have already been described."

Captain McKinley, with the other officers, had been working earnestly during the whole engagement to keep the men in line, and to establish a position. He had just returned from planting the battery, by direction of General Crook, of Colonel Dupont of the Fifth U. S. Artillery, a part of Colonel Crook's corps. It was then that Sheridan rode up to him.

"Where's Crook?" said Sheridan. Captain McKinley turned, and they galloped off to find the general.

“ — down the line 'mid a storm of huzzahs,
And the wave of retreat checked its course then, because
The sight of the master compelled it to pause.
With foam and with dust the black charger was gray;
By the flash of his eye and his nostrils' play
He seemed to the whole great army to say,
'I have brought you Sheridan all the way
From Winchester down to save the day.' ”

“ What troops are those?” shouted Sheridan, as they dashed along the line.

“ The Sixth Corps,” was the response from a hundred voices. “ Never mind, boys, we'll whip them yet. We'll whip them yet. We shall sleep in our quarters to-night,” were the encouraging words of the chief as he rode along while the men threw their hats high in the air, leaping and dancing and cheering in their wild joy.

As General Sheridan rode to the front of the line, accompanied by Captain McKinley, he was received with cheers, and it was at once evident that the courage and enthusiasm of the troops had returned. Cheers broke out from the Ohio regiments, regimental flags appeared, headquarters were immediately established, and Generals Wright and Crook, now met, briefly described to Sheridan the events of the morning. Orders were immediately issued. Crook was directed to hold what forces he had on the left and to collect and organize his men, a work in which McKinley took an active part. The returning stragglers were brought into line with all the rapidity with which, earlier in the day, they had gone to the rear. The whole current of movement was changed. The leadership of a great general was felt, and the Union forces became eager for the attack.

When Sheridan returned to the line, after consulting with his officers, it was suggested that he take off his great coat, which was covered with dust and perspiration, and ride down the line. Captain McKinley helped him to remove the coat, and it was discovered that Sheridan wore a bright new uniform, which he had just obtained on his trip to Washington. McKinley has frequently been heard to say that Sheridan never looked more a soldier than at that moment.

The restoration of the Union line had not passed unnoticed by General Early, who had already become somewhat alarmed. Many of his troops were engaged in enjoying the luxuries of the Union camp. Early got them together as well as he could and prepared for an assault, which he made upon the Nineteenth corps, but there was now no difficulty in repulsing attacks. Shortly afterward an advance of the Union army was ordered, and although the enemy had improved an opportunity to establish lines behind stone walls and make other defensive preparations, he was unable to successfully resist this assault of Sheridan's army, now fully inspired with his presence. All of General Early's forces were at once swept away without being able to resist our attacking lines at any point. The Confederates were driven from the field in one of the greatest routs since the beginning of the war. No attempt was made to check the pursuit or to save any property, and many guns, wagons, and prisoners were abandoned. This was a great victory, snatched from what appeared to have been a great defeat.

General Sheridan withdrew his corps to Kernstown, where more supplies could be obtained and where fortified lines were constructed.

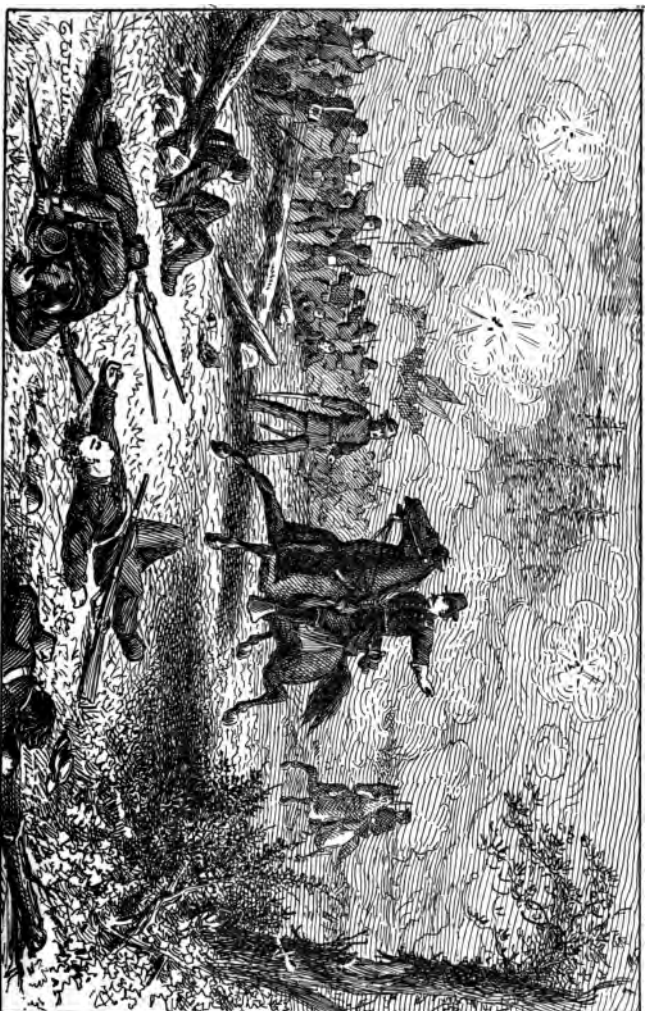
A short time after this a successful cavalry raid by the

enemy on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, at New Creek in West Virginia, had caused the departure of General Crook with one of his divisions to that place. General Crook admired the pluck and fighting qualities of the young officer from Ohio, and took Captain McKinley with him. There Crook and Kelley were captured, and Hancock took charge of the department. He retained Captain McKinley on his staff, and the young officer remained with him until assigned as acting assistant adjutant-general on the staff of Samuel S. Carroll, commanding the veteran Reserve Corps at Washington. McKinley remained there for some time, was there when General Lee surrendered to Grant at the famous apple-tree at Appomattox in April, 1865, and was also there at the exciting period when President Lincoln was shot by Booth in Ford's Theatre. It was just one month and a day before this sad event that he received a document which is one of his cherished possessions, his commission as brevet major of the U. S. Volunteers.

"For gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Opequan, Cedar Creek, and Fisher's Hill."

And it is signed, "A. Lincoln."

While the army was proceeding northward on the 8th of November, 1864, their votes were cast in the presidential election at which Lincoln and Johnson were elected. It is said that the votes were collected by the judges of the election as the column was on the march. This was McKinley's first vote. An ambulance served as an election booth, an empty candle-box did duty as a receptacle for ballots. At the same time Generals Crook, Sheridan, and Hayes cast their ballots, and it is said that at this time Sheridan and Crook also cast their first votes.



GENERAL SHERIDAN BEFORE MCKINLEY'S REGIMENT ON HIS FAMOUS RIDE TO WINCHESTER.

On July 26, 1865, Major McKinley was mustered out of the service, and his fighting days in the army were over. From the very beginning, as his career in the war shows, he had shown himself to be made of superior stuff. Whether in camp or in the field, he was always devoted to the highest duty of the hour. So young in years, and starting out as an inconspicuous private in the ranks, without influence, he was compelled to rely upon his own merits, and they counted.

It is said of Hayes, whose days of fighting closed at about the same time, that he was under fire about one hundred days in the course of those four years, and that from the beginning of May until the end of October, 1864, he was under fire sixty days. As McKinley was with Hayes most of the time, and besides was in the battle of Antietam, which was not participated in by Hayes on account of a wound received at South Mountain, it is evident that McKinley must have been under fire even more than this. South Mountain, Antietam, Cloyd's Mountain, Kernstown, Berryville, Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek were some of the severest fought battles of the war. When it is remembered that McKinley many times exposed himself bravely to danger, and that once when he rescued the regiment at Kernstown he galloped into the very jaws of death, it is clear that a good fortune followed him and saved him for the brilliant career in civil life which he has made.

CHAPTER XI.

HOME AGAIN — MCKINLEY ENTERS CIVIL LIFE, AND BECOMES A LEADING LAWYER.

Advised by General Carroll to Continue his Military Career —
A Strong Temptation — Finally Concludes to Study Law —
Long Hours over his Law Books — Going to Youngstown to
Recite — Anxious to Support Himself — His Sister's Sacrifice
— Admitted to the Bar at Canton in 1867 — His first Law Case
— Twenty-five Dollars, Too Much — Partnership with Judge
Belden — His Reputation as a Lawyer Quickly Made —
Thoroughness in Preparing Cases and his Success with Juries
— Legal Contest with John McSweeney — The Bowlegged Man
who lost his Case for Damages — McKinley goes into Politics
— Placed on the List of Stump Speakers by the Republican
State Committee — The Name Never Taken off.

THE gallant young major, on his return to Poland, was a great favorite with the people, young and old, from whose society he had gone four years before, and the pride of his father and mother, whose patriotism ran in the blood, and who rejoiced that they had yielded to the persuasive pleadings of William four years before, and allowed him to become a volunteer. It took a great load from the heart of a mother in 1865, when her son came home safe and sound; her pride was justifiable, when he came home with well-earned honors. While serving on the staff of General Carroll, McKinley had many

long talks with that officer, who, like other men thrown into the young man's company, was strongly attracted by his admirable qualities of mind and heart. General Carroll advised him to continue in the military career. The temptation was undoubtedly great. Peace was now restored; a military career offered, especially to a young officer, all the advantages and none of the drawbacks in such a calling. As a major in the army, whose further promotion was possible, and even probable, his position would at once be secure.

He knew also that when he returned to Poland and entered upon civil life, with no occupation, no trade, no profession, and no place in the busy activities of the country, except such as he could make for himself, another long, and perhaps less successful, struggle was before him. Besides, he knew that he would return to Poland practically as poor as he left it, and would immediately be thrown upon his own resources.

McKinley, during his career in the war, had opportunities, which some had not neglected to improve, of making money in the positions he held in the regiment. His position, first as commissary-sergeant, and afterwards as quartermaster, afforded him such opportunities. But his honesty and probity were natural and inherited, and were unshaken by any such temptation. The story is told that when quartermaster of his regiment, after the retreat from Lynchburg, it was necessary to destroy much of the property in store to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels. In a confidential talk with one of his friends at that time, McKinley said:

“This is where the quartermasters might make their

money, but I don't want a dollar of Uncle Sam's that doesn't belong to me."

McKinley was one of those — and it is just to say that they were in the majority — who always made honest returns in his accounts of the property under his care.

When he returned to Poland, he was undoubtedly affected by the advice of General Carroll as to the advantages of a military career. It is said that such a proposition met the opposition of his father. However this may be, it is certain that the attractions of an army life, which in times of peace would probably be one of more indolence and luxury than of active work, were overcome by his desire to enter the legal profession. His old appetite for study returned, and circumstances were such that he could begin the reading of law with a man who was highly esteemed for his high character, eloquent address, and magnificent presence — Judge Charles E. Glidden, whose office was in Youngstown, and whose partner was David M. Wilson.

Once this decision was made, he entered into the reading of elementary law treatises with all the earnestness that characterized his schoolboy days, and became again an excessive burner of midnight oil. Once or twice a week he would go to Youngstown to recite to Judge Glidden or his partner. A diligent student, engaged early and late with his books, it was not possible for Major McKinley to enter much into the social life of Poland, but he did to a certain extent, and many Poland people cherish to-day the memory of those days when he was with them. Having won such high rank in the war, he was looked upon as a man of mark, and sure of a bright future. He was known also as a good

speaker, and it was a great local occasion when he delivered the oration at the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument in his old home.

Thus the time passed for about a year, and then, it is said, it became a question with McKinley whether he should pursue his course of law studies at once to completion, knowing that it would take several years without yielding any substantial financial returns, or enter meanwhile upon some business career. His sister Annie, who had been his guiding angel, and whose advice he had taken upon many occasions, had gone to Canton as a school teacher, and now came to his rescue again, like the faithful and self-sacrificing sister she always was, and said that she and the others in the family should make every sacrifice possible to enable William to pursue his studies. Thus it was that McKinley went to Albany, to enter the Ohio Law School, which at that time was considered one of the leading schools in the country. There he spent a season of absolute devotion to his studies, and was able to complete his course, and to gain admittance to the bar in 1867, two years after his return from the war. Doubtless his sister Annie again influenced his course, for he went to Canton, Ohio, bidding adieu to his old friends and comrades in Poland, and the briefless lawyer, engaging a small office in the rear of an old building, situated where the fine Stark county court house now stands, sat down, waited for clients, and studied.

Occupying a well-equipped office on the front of the same building was Judge Belden, then one of the most prominent advocates in Stark county. He had been a circuit judge, and was a man of influence and of strong social position. He was attracted by the personality of the young

lawyer. The record he had made in the war had attracted the attention of the people throughout that region, some of the more prominent people of Canton among them. Belden thought McKinley was a man who deserved assistance. The latter was not seeking any, however. But one day the judge came into McKinley's little office, complaining of feeling very poorly, and of wishing to go home, and said:

"Mack, here are the papers in a case coming up to-morrow. Now, I want you to try it — I shall not be able to attend to it."

It was a replevin case of appeal. Before that, McKinley had absolutely no practice whatever, unless it might have been a case or two of little or no consequence in the justice's court. The papers in the case were quite extensive; moreover, it was a very doubtful case. Indeed, Judge Belden had very little hope of it.

"Why, I can't try that case, Judge; it's all new to me; I have no chance to prepare it; and you know I've never tried a case yet."

"Well, begin on this one, then," replied the judge; and finally McKinley agreed to do so, nothing being said, however, as to cost of services. He went to his little office and sat up all night, going through every detail of the case. The next day he went into court and won it.

Not long afterwards, Judge Belden saw McKinley, and said:

"Well, Mack, so you won the case," and putting his hand in his pocket, he took out twenty-five dollars.

"Oh, I can't take that," said McKinley; "it's too much for one day's work."

"Don't worry about that," said the judge, in a good-natured way. "I got a hundred dollars as a retainer."

From that moment, Judge Belden and his friends knew that Major McKinley was a man worth cultivating, and very soon the judge made him a partner. He moved out of the little office where he had spent his briefless days, and continued his practice with Judge Belden with increasing success until the latter died in 1870.

McKinley at once won a reputation as a shrewd man at the bar, and a successful pleader. He took no particular fancy to any one branch of his profession, but in those days most of his experience was in the civil courts. In one case, not long after entering into partnership with Judge Belden, he found himself pitted against John McSweeney, who was considered one of the most brilliant lawyers of the Ohio bar. The case was a suit for damages for malpractice, the complainant charging that a surgeon had set his broken leg in such a way as to make him bowlegged. McKinley appeared for the surgeon. McSweeney brought his client into court, put him on the stand, had his broken leg bared, and it was held up conspicuously in evidence. A bad looking leg in shape it certainly was. Things looked serious for the surgeon, and for McKinley's case. But meanwhile McKinley had his keen eyes fixed on the other leg, and when the witness was turned over to him for cross-examination, he demanded that this, too, be bared. McSweeney made an objection, but the court overruled it. Much to McSweeney's confusion, the merriment of the jurors, and the collapse of the complainant's case, the other leg was more bowed than the one set by the surgeon. His trousers had been rather skillfully used to conceal it.

"My client seems to have done better for this man than did nature herself," said McKinley, "and I move that the suit be dismissed with a recommendation to have his right leg broken and set by my client, the surgeon."

From his boyhood, McKinley had been interested in national politics and closely followed the current of events. He was heard in public discussion at the very beginning of his legal career. In 1867 Ohio voted upon the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, giving to the colored man the right of suffrage.

"The first political speech I ever made," said Governor McKinley to a visitor one day, "was in favor of that amendment. It was delivered at the village of New Berlin, and I afterwards made it all through Stark county."

Pausing a moment, his face brightening, he continued:

"I really wish I could read that speech. I can see it now, all written out. I never prepared a speech with greater care in all my life."

This maiden speech was delivered from the veranda of the residence of Michael Bitzer, a Pennsylvania German and staunch Republican, who yet points with pride to the spot where McKinley stood.

Stark county was Democratic, even in those days directly after the war. The nomination for prosecuting attorney for the county was usually regarded as an empty honor, and some have urged that the nomination was given to the young attorney in 1869 simply as such, with no expectation that he would win. It would, however, bring him into further prominence. But it is also true that McKinley, even in a short time, had become very popular, not only in Canton, but in the county around. Whether

the Republicans had any expectation that McKinley would win or not, the Democrats certainly had none. Their candidate was W. A. Lynch, who already held the position, and felt perfectly sure of it. McKinley at once took the stump, and entered into the campaign with all that vim and ability which has made him one of the greatest campaigners of this generation; and to the surprise of his Republican friends, and the astonishment and chagrin of the Democrats, he was elected.

Thus the young man who had returned from the war, undecided as to his future and with no profession, had within four years won a position which was regarded as a prize by the younger attorneys. Serving as prosecuting attorney of Stark county for two years, he was renominated; but this time the Democrats, who were still largely in the majority in the county, were alert, fighting for their candidate with all the power they possessed, yet it was only by the narrow majority of forty-five that McKinley was defeated.

An interesting story is told of the manner in which William McKinley and Mark A. Hanna of Cleveland, who has recently attracted much attention by his successful management of McKinley's interests in the campaign for presidential nomination, became acquainted. It was about four years after McKinley settled in Canton, and after his second and unsuccessful campaign for election as prosecuting attorney. Mr. Hanna's large company was the owner of extensive mines in Stark county, and, owing to some disagreement, there was trouble with the miners, who committed several deeds of violence, and finally set fire to the property. Twenty-three of them were arrested as principals in the act, and their friends secured Major McKinley to

defend them. He entered into their cause with his usual earnestness, pleaded their case with skill, and with one exception they were acquitted. Hanna's attention was attracted to the ability of the young attorney, and a friendship was formed which has continued to this day. Mr. Hanna, in his good-natured way, says the one man whom McKinley failed to get acquitted was the only innocent man in the lot, if there was one.

Canton, at that time, was a place of not more than five or six thousand inhabitants, a flourishing little village, as villages went in Ohio directly after the war, but it grew very rapidly. It was settled largely by the Pennsylvania Dutch, and by Germans from the old country. Many industries were established there, much of their prosperity being due to the protective tariff; and the constant evidences of this, of course, only strengthened the convictions which McKinley already had upon this question. Becoming a railroad center, and the center of Stark county, rich in an industrious agricultural population, Canton was an excellence place of residence for the rising young lawyer of Ohio.

Very soon, McKinley had a lucrative practice. As a pleader before juries, he was recognized as one who had few superiors in those parts. His clients were impressed with the thoroughness with which he prepared his cases, and with his quickness to seize a point of vital importance in the trial of cases. But while his practice had become a paying one, the expansion of his business required a growing outlay. He was also scrupulously prompt in meeting obligations which he had incurred in starting upon his legal career. From the time of his first campaign for election as

prosecuting attorney, he had been active in politics, and he took the stump for his party upon every occasion, soon making himself a power among the people of that section.

The same year that McKinley was conducting his first campaign in Stark county for prosecuting attorney, General Rutherford B. Hayes was the Republican candidate for governor, having served two terms in Congress. It was in the height of the greenback craze, the Democratic platform declaring that the whole bonded debt should be paid in greenbacks, and favoring about every device then existing inimical to the cause of sound money.

Ohio people were affected by the craze, and political leaders knew not where they stood. Speakers on the stump hardly dared to deal unequivocally with the question. It so happened that Stewart L. Woodford of New York, one of the best campaign speakers of his day, was sent out to Ohio, and he came out bravely and squarely for sound money and against the greenback craze without any qualification, and with good effect. He addressed a large meeting at Canton, and McKinley made a little speech at the close of the evening. When Woodford got to Columbus, and was telling the State Central committee about his tour, he said:

“By the way, there is a young fellow up there in Canton who is one of the coming men — you ought to put him on the stump.”

“Who is he?” was asked.

“His name is McKinley.”

The State Central committee had heard a little of McKinley before, but they immediately, on Woodford's advice, put him on their list of speakers — and he has never been off the list since.

CHAPTER XII.

HIS MARRIAGE — THE FIRST AND ONLY ROMANCE OF McKINLEY'S LIFE.

Ida Saxton and her Family — Her Grandfather a Newspaper Man, and an Editor for Sixty Years — Her Father a Banker, Capitalist, and Leading Man of Affairs — His Practical Ideas of the Training of Women — Three Years his Assistant in the Bank — Her Beauty and Attractive Qualities — Trip Abroad — Return and Social Life — The Belle of the Town — Young Lawyer McKinley Distances his Rivals — Just the Man Father Saxton Wanted — Their Marriage — Early Home Life — Death of their Two Children — Her Health fails — Removal to her Old Home — William McKinley's Devotion — Reluctant to Enter Politics — Mrs. McKinley Urges him to do so — Believed it was his Duty, and that it was his Future — Accepts Further Political Honors — Becomes a Congressional Candidate.

WHEN McKinley was fighting for the Union, there was a young lady in Canton, Miss Ida Saxton, of handsome features, lively and attractive disposition, and of excellent family, who was pursuing her studies, and devoting some of her leisure time to such benevolent work as scraping lint and making bandages to be sent to the front for wounded soldiers. She was born and bred in Canton. Her grandfather, John Saxton, founded the Canton Repository, in March, 1815, a paper that has had an uninterrupted and successful existence, and whose proprietor can

(136)

point to the files of his paper in which are printed the proclamations of Napoleon,— not of the same date to be sure, but after only a brief interval, considering the means of communication eighty years ago, and remoteness at that time of Canton. Waterloo was fought in June, and an exceedingly interesting and faithful account was given to the Ohio readers of Mr. Saxton's paper in September. For sixty years Mr. Saxton occupied the editorial chair, and was still at his post in 1870, to publish the account of the fall of Napoleon III.

His son, James A. Saxton, the father of Ida Saxton, became a banker and a capitalist, and was prominent in local affairs. His wife, like himself, belonged to a family which had been among the earliest settlers in Canton. Ida Saxton was born in June, 1847, and as she grew up under fortunate circumstances, she early developed qualities which won the admiration of sensible people, made her one of the belles of the town, and later, one of the most devoted of wives. From her mother she inherited a brightness and cheerfulness of disposition, which has aided in making her life, though not without its severe sufferings, one of contented happiness and usefulness. From her father, she inherited a practical ability and knowledge of business, and from both parents strength of character.

Her father was a man of very practical beliefs. He secured for his daughter an excellent education, as complete and effective as he could make it in the local schools, and afterwards at a seminary in Media, Pa., from which she graduated at the age of sixteen. Her mother, a woman of cultivation and sound good sense, also took great pains with her daughter's education.

Even at this time, she was very seriously threatened with ill-health, and her ambition often carried her further than her physical strength warranted. Though with prospects of inheriting a fortune, her father had ideas concerning the practical experience of young women, which may have been considered strange at that time, but are recognized as practical to-day. He believed in providing for a woman the advantages of an ample and practical business training and experience. So he took his daughter into the employ of the bank with which he was connected, and for three years she held the position of assistant to him — and she was a good one, too. Father Saxton also may have been influenced by another consideration. He believed that women should make their position independent, and besides, he was so passionately fond of his daughter, who was the brightness of his home, that he did not relish the thought of her marriage. He thought that, with a practical business training, his daughter would not be easily led away into making an ill-advised match; and whether she stood in any danger of such a thing or not, she certainly developed in her father's bank all the qualities of a thorough and practical woman of experience, and she has never ceased to be grateful for this training. As she grew older, she developed into a charming young lady with bright, handsome features, and it is not at all improbable that her pretty face at the window made her father's bank attractive to the young gentlemen who had checks to cash.

After three years' experience in the bank, she went abroad with her sister and a party of friends, chaperoned by one of her former teachers, for a six months tour of England and the continent. On her return, she really began her



MRS. WILLIAM McKINLEY.
(From her latest photograph.)

social career in Canton. William McKinley had just been elected prosecuting attorney of Stark county. Miss Saxton had a host of admirers, attracted by her beauty, brightness, and amiable qualities; but William McKinley, while not so devoted to the round of social events as other young men of his age, never having overcome his studious habits, stepped in ahead of his rivals, and won the "belle of the town."

It is a romantic and beautiful little story that is told of their courtship, characteristic of the seriousness and thorough ingenuousness of both. She was teacher of a large Bible class in the First Presbyterian church, and he was superintendent of the Sunday-school of the First Methodist Episcopal church. In going to their respective schools, they passed each other at a certain corner, and found it pleasant to stop occasionally and indulge in conversation concerning their work. This went on for many months, until, on an ever-memorable Sunday afternoon in their history, he said to her:

"I don't like this separation every Sunday, you going one way and I another. Let us change the order. Suppose after this we always go the same way. I think that is the thing for us to do. What do you think?"

"I think so too," was her answer.

More than this, he was just the man Father Saxton wanted, and he is reported as having said to McKinley: "You are the only man I have ever known to whom I would entrust my daughter."

So it was that William McKinley and Ida Saxton were married in the old Presbyterian church, January 25, 1871, Dr. Buckingham, pastor of the church, and Dr. Endsley of

the Methodist church, officiating on the occasion. The wedding was a notable one, and the first marriage ceremony that took place in the church. William McKinley, as we have seen, had been brought up a Methodist, and for some years had been a member of a Methodist denomination. His wife gave her first exhibition of faith in her husband when she became a communicant of the Methodist church, and of that church in Canton they are still members.

For a while after their marriage, Major and Mrs. McKinley boarded. But finding this mode of life unsatisfactory, they began housekeeping in a street near the old home, a cozy and pretty house, that has since become historic, and which is their home to-day. Here on Christmas day, 1871, their first child, a daughter, was born. She lived to be only three years of age. A second child, also a daughter, died in infancy. Just before the birth of the second child, Mrs. McKinley was called upon to face the first great sorrow of her life in the death of her mother. Although delicate from childhood, Mrs. McKinley's actual invalidism dates from this combination of sorrows — within a few months she lost her two children and her mother, and she drew still closer to her devoted husband.

It was deemed advisable that they should leave their own home, and remove to the old Saxton homestead, where she might have constant care, and be at the same time a companion to her father. This house was a large, three-story brick dwelling, surrounded by broad porches, and fitted up with all that wealth could bestow, but with no display or ostentation. It has become one of the historic houses of the place, for it was here, only a few weeks before General Garfield's election to the presidency, that Major McKin-

ley entertained, on the occasion of a soldiers' and sailors' reunion, all of President Hayes's family, Governor Foster, General Crook, and General and Mrs. Garfield. In spite of her invalidism, Mrs. McKinley, on the occasions when she acted as hostess, was found to be one of the most charming.

Devoted as Major McKinley was to his young wife in her failing health, he looked for any opportunity to make any sacrifice for her comfort, or for the restoration of her strength. A quiet home life seemed to be a necessity, but Mrs. McKinley was proud of her young husband, proud of his war record, and of the brilliant reputation he had made at the bar. She believed in him thoroughly.

But he feared a political life might deprive him of his wife's company, and her of his care, to a large extent, and that, with her disposition, she would make his political contest her own, perhaps to the continued impairment of her health. When further honors were offered to him, therefore, McKinley was reluctant to accept them, but Mrs. McKinley did everything in her power to overcome this reluctance. He believed in her as she believed in him, and she was able to convince him of his duty, believing that his talents and integrity would be of the greatest value to the people. From the beginning of his Congressional career to the present time, she has encouraged him by her faith, and aided him by her practical advice and assistance.

"She is such a devoted wife," laughed a friend recently, in speaking of her, "such a model wife, believing so completely that what her husband does is right, and encouraging him in so doing, that I am perfectly convinced that if the major were to enunciate a doctrine of free trade, Mrs. McKinley would be his first convert."

CHAPTER XIII.

A CONGRESSMAN AT THIRTY-FOUR—RECOGNITION QUICKLY WON.

McKinley the Man who was wanted for Congress — “Old Stagers” do not Consider him a Possibility — He goes into the Campaign for Nomination and Wins in every County — Nominated on the First Ballot and Elected—Astonishment in Venerable Circles — Entered Congress at an Important Period — Settlement of Reconstruction Questions — McKinley put at the Bottom of a Poor Committee—Attracted Attention when he Spoke — What Blaine Said of him — His First Tariff Speech — Attack on the Wood Bill that Opened the Eyes of his Colleagues — His Thorough Knowledge of the Subject Displayed — McKinley Still a Quiet, Studious Man — His time Mostly Spent at his Rooms with Mrs. McKinley and his Books.

BY his industry and success in the practice of law, and by his engaging personality, McKinley had, by 1876, won the political support of some of the most influential men in Stark county. As one of them said to the writer recently, “We liked him. He was always candid, and we never had to apologize for him. We thought he was just the man to send to Congress.” He had never had any legislative experience, and his wife’s illness had made him indifferent to further political honors, even reluctant to run the risk, as we have said, but when he decided to stand for Congress, his friends went to work in earnest.

While, however, he was considered by some of his admiring friends at Canton as just the man for Congress, some of the old Republican leaders in his district took very little notice of his candidacy at first. L. D. Woodworth of Mahoning, Judge Frease of Canton, and several other Republicans, three of whom were from his own county, went into the contest for the nomination with very little expectation that McKinley would cut any figure. The delegates to the congressional convention in Stark county were elected by public vote. The young lawyer entered into his canvass with that same earnestness and thoroughness which had characterized his canvass for the position of prosecuting attorney, and carried every township in the county but one, and that had but a single delegate. In the other counties, he proved to be almost as successful.

His primaries gave him a majority of the delegates in the district, and he was nominated on the first ballot over all other candidates. The old stagers were as astonished at the results as were the Austrian marshals when the young Napoleon dropped his army upon them on the plains of Italy from the summit of the Alps. But they were not long displeased. Their own political chances had vanished, but they knew McKinley had come to stay in the politics of the district, that he was a man who could be trusted and would make a name for himself. Politicians who become accustomed to thinking that political honors belong to older men entirely, are apt to be disagreeably surprised sometimes, and abundantly satisfied afterwards.

Jefferson was writing pamphlets on liberty at thirty, and penned the Declaration of Independence at thirty-three; Madison entered Congress at twenty-nine, Webster at

thirty-one, Blaine at thirty-two, and Clay was a senator at twenty-nine. In the Congress which McKinley entered at thirty-four, Thomas B. Reed began his career at thirty-eight.

The Forty-fifth was in many respects a notable Congress. For the first time in fifteen years the Democrats obtained control of the lower branch with the Forty-fourth Congress. They maintained it in the Forty-fifth, electing Samuel J. Randall speaker by 149 votes, to 132 for James A. Garfield. It was called in special session in October, and McKinley began his career as a committeeman at the foot of the Laws Revision committee, one of the poorest in the House. But he entered into his new work with characteristic earnestness, and with the purpose to do his full duty, though a new member upon an unimportant committee is expected to have very little to do, and to do less.

It was an important period to enter upon a congressional career, and one calculated to develop just that line of thought upon economic matters that McKinley had been pursuing. While the country had been engaged in settling the great questions growing out of the war, McKinley had become more and more interested in economic matters, which up to that time had barely affected Congress. When he took his seat, therefore, a new epoch was really beginning, and the subjects of the tariff and finance were attracting attention both because of their novelty and their pressing importance.

The Greenback party had just started in 1874, and had placed Peter Cooper, a well-known philanthropist of New York, in nomination for the presidency in 1876. The whole West, as we have said, was more or less affected by the craze, the Republicans no less than the Democrats, and safe, conservative men were at a premium. The free coin-

age of silver seemed to a great many of both parties in the West in those days the only safe way to head off the craze for the unlimited issue of greenbacks by the government. At that time the depreciation of silver was slight, and very little of silver had been coined for years. A bill, therefore, for the free coinage of silver was introduced into the House by Mr. Bland of Missouri within a month after Congress met, and was soon passed by that body by an overwhelming majority.

McKinley as a new member did not rush indiscreetly into the wordy battles which regularly occurred. He was a good listener, weighing the strength of his antagonists, and the force of their opinions, and speaking only when he thought his opportunity had come to make himself felt. He soon came to be regarded as one of the men who, when he spoke, had something to say, and when he had said it, stopped. Gradually members on both sides of the House, as they came to know him, began to consult him, and to consider his judgment valuable. He was regarded as one of the best speakers which that Congress developed. Very quickly he attracted the attention of James G. Blaine, and when the October elections were held in Maine, Mr. Blaine asked McKinley to participate in a stumping tour through that State. Blaine's attention had first been attracted to McKinley by a speech he had made at a Union League reception to the Maine statesman, in Philadelphia during the Hayes campaign. McKinley spoke from a platform erected in front of the club house on Broad street, to an immense multitude of people, the largest, probably, he had ever addressed.

The tariff question, as an issue in the politics of this gen-

eration, really had its beginning in the Forty-fifth Congress, which had been in session but a few months when Fernando Wood of New York introduced his bill "to reduce taxation, and for other purposes." A few days later McKinley made his first tariff speech in the House, and established his reputation as one of the best posted men on the subject in that body at that time. In his book, *Twenty years in Congress*, reviewing the Forty-fifth, James G. Blaine said, "William McKinley, Jr., entered from the Canton district. He enlisted in an Ohio regiment when but seventeen years old, and soon won the rank of major by meritorious services. The interests of his constituency and his own bent of mind led him to the study of industrial questions and he was soon recognized in the House as one of the most thorough statisticians and one of the ablest defenders of the doctrine of protection."

A perusal of the Congressional Record of that Congress, containing the debates upon the Wood Bill, will reveal the fact that no more direct and convincing speech was made against it. He announced his opposition to such tariff reform measures by saying:

"This bill not only impairs the revenues of the government, but it is a blow well directed at the mining, the manufacturing, and the industrial classes of this country. It will not be denied that any material readjustment of the tariff system at this time is a hazardous undertaking, and should be approached, if at all, with great care and circumspection, with a thorough knowledge of the business and commerce of the country, their needs and relations which it proposes to affect. This consideration should be unencumbered by individual or sectional interests, and should

be free from any attempt or desire to promote the interests of one class at the expense of the many. The highest good to the greatest number should guide any legislation which may be had. I believe if this rule should be adopted, the proposed measure would find little favor in this House. I do not doubt that free trade, or its 'next of kin,' tariff reform, might be of temporary advantage to a very limited class of our population, and would be hailed with delight by the home importer and the foreign manufacturer; but no one, I predict, who has thoughtfully considered the subject, and its effects upon our present state and condition, can fail to discern that free trade, or tariff reform, introduced into this country now, would produce still further business depression and increased commercial paralyzation."

Speaking then for a time as to the effect upon business of ill-considered changes in the tariff, he added, "There is no national demand, I assert, for the passage of this bill; no popular appeal is pressing for its enactment; no public necessity requires such legislation; no interest is suffering for want of it. There is no plethora in the revenues, or overflow of the treasury, justifying it. Neither the producer nor the consumer wants it; but the almost universal sentiment of the country is for the defeat of this bill, here and now, without compromise or amendment."

After administering several hard blows to the measure upon general principles, opening the eyes of his listeners to the fact that he was thoroughly versed in the principles of the tariff, he turned to more specific arguments. He told them how the old Staffordshire granite whiteware, so universally used in this country for a great many years, had

almost disappeared from the American market, and was rapidly giving place to our own manufactured article in that branch of industry. He produced the testimony of English manufacturers, not intended for an American audience, admitting with alarm that "in ten years, at the rate they are going on, they will supersede the use of British crockery in the United States." He not only produced quotations by the score from statements made by English manufacturers when arbitrating in 1877, and before they became so careful as to their utterances lest their real opinions might be used against them on this side of the water, but taking up schedule after schedule, he gave exhaustive statistics explaining the percentage of reduction, and showing the probable effect upon trade. Then he entered upon the question of wages, revealing a knowledge of the economic principles underlying wages and production, which few men in Congress or out could justly boast of then or now.

"This bill means reduced wages to operatives. It means the closest, sharpest competition among manufacturers at home with manufacturers abroad. It means the closest economy of the price in the article produced. And the very first step taken in the direction of economy on the part of the manufacturer is to reduce the wages he pays to his laborer; not because he loves to do it, but because the exigencies of his business demand it. That has always been so, and the present and the future will be no exception to the past."

The McKinley of to-day could point to that utterance made when a young man in Congress, twenty years ago, and challenge the business interests and the laboring classes in this country to deny that experience had proved its

truth. But he did not deal with the wage question in general terms only. He produced statistics giving comparative prices of labor in this and other countries in different lines of industry, showing the inconsistency of the Wood Bill in many of its schedules. Towards the close of his speech he made a striking statement as to the national credit, which is of peculiar relevancy to-day.

“Mr. Chairman, much discussion has been had at this session touching the maintenance of the national credit, in which purpose I most heartily concur. The national credit is of paramount importance, and nothing should be done to tarnish or impair it, nothing omitted to strengthen or improve it. But will the Congress of the United States be reminded that in no way can you more surely maintain the national credit than by assiduously maintaining the great industries of the country, which for the most part constitute the nation's wealth. There can be no permanent credit which is not based upon the labor, the capital, and the wealth of the nation. Destroy the latter, and at the same moment the former is destroyed. The bill before us impairs the revenues pledged to the government creditor, and endangers the material interests of the country. Beware lest in your effort to pattern after the English policy you do not at the same time sap the foundations and destroy the true source of our national credit.”

We can imagine that Speaker Randall, the champion of the protection system in his party for so many years, recognized in McKinley one of the coming leaders in the defense of the national industries, and of the national credit. Two years later, Randall being again speaker, McKinley was put next to Reed on a more important committee.

The question may be asked where and when McKinley acquired all the knowledge of the tariff question and the thorough information as to the specific effects of different rates that he showed himself possessed of at the very beginning of his Congressional career. This speech against the Wood Bill was delivered only a few days after the bill was introduced into the House. He evidently entered Congress fully equipped for tariff debate. It is doubtless true that, with his earlier instruction, and because of his fondness for economic study, McKinley had, during his career as a lawyer at Canton, and while at home with his invalid wife, improved every opportunity to acquire a firm grasp of all the special features of the tariff; an understanding of the general business conditions of the country which astonished men at Washington of older heads, and opened the way quickly for his promotion to the Ways and Means committee.

Moreover, McKinley was a student at Washington, as he had been at Poland and at Canton. When he entered Congress, he took rooms on the fifth floor of the Ebbitt House. Mrs. McKinley had a room fitted up for her especial comfort, and McKinley a little office where he was at home to his friends who called in the evening for a friendly smoke and a chat. He led a quiet and studious life — gathering facts, developing himself intellectually, and going little into the social round at Washington. He preferred to be near his wife, and seldom an evening passed in his study without a brief half-hourly visit to Mrs. McKinley, to see that she needed nothing for her comfort. And so he gained the reputation of a devoted husband, an industrious, well-informed and plodding Congressman, and

at the same time a reputation for affability and courtesy that made him popular. Having once met a man, he made him his friend, even if he was his political enemy. The longer their association, the stronger the friendship grew.

Mrs. McKinley was not confined to her rooms at the Ebbitt House, but, on the other hand, she acted as hostess on several occasions, and was an intimate friend of Mrs. President Hayes, in whose absence, she frequently presided at the White House. By education and accomplishments, she was amply able to fulfill any social duties which her strength permitted.

It was during the second session of the Forty-fifth Congress that Major McKinley's old friend and comrade, General Hastings, visited Washington and became acquainted with Miss Platt, who was one of Mrs. McKinley's dear friends. It was in Mrs. McKinley's drawing-room at the Ebbitt House that the romance in the general's life first began. The wedding of General Hastings and Miss Platt took place in the White House, and was a social event of considerable importance.

The Forty-fifth Congress closed its third and last session shortly after the resumption of specie payment, and another achievement was recorded in the history of the Republican party.

CHAPTER XIV.

PLANTING THE BANNER OF PROTECTION—IN THE FORTY-SIXTH AND FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESSES.

McKinley's District Gerrymandered — Three of his Old Counties Taken Away, and Three Strange Counties Given to him — McKinley Accepts Renomination—Elected by 1,300 Majority—His Speech for Free and Fair Elections—Temporary Chairman of the Republican State Convention at Columbus — On the Ways and Means Committee — The Tariff Commission and its Report — The Bill of 1883 — McKinley's Tilt with Hewitt and with Springer — Hewitt Compelled to Admit that Wages Depended upon Protection — McKinley's Fidelity to his Constituents not Measured by the Support they Gave him.

MAJOR McKINLEY'S first term in Congress attracted the attention of the people of his district, and he had no difficulty in securing a renomination; but meantime he had attracted the attention of the Democrats, and a Democratic Legislature had arranged a new gerrymander of the State, so that McKinley was compelled to run from a district largely new to him. It was made to consist of Stark, Wayne, Ashland, and Portage counties, which, in the previous elections, had given a Democratic majority of 1,800. The Democrats congratulated themselves on the prospects of securing a large delegation in the next Congress, and of beating the little protectionist. The Republicans were anything but hopeful.

Major McKinley accepted a renomination at Massilon, Ohio, August 7, 1878, in a speech thanking the Republicans of the district, which he said contained "three counties hitherto strangers in this political relation, all having distinguished citizens who would do honor to the nomination, and each with popular favorites, who would command the confidence and support of the Republicans of the district." And he added: "I assure you that with your aid, and the assistance of the constituency which you represent, nothing shall be omitted on my part to achieve a party success, which will overturn and render forceless the machinations of the Democratic Legislature to defraud Republicans of their just representation."

The maliciousness of the gerrymander is apparent from the fact that it had been an unbroken rule to make a reapportionment only at the end of each decennial period, after each federal census, thus securing a representation based on the actual number of inhabitants disclosed at each census. A reapportionment had been made at the regular period following the census of 1870, and though the Democratic party had control of the Legislature in 1873, it did not deem it necessary to disturb the apportionment at that time.

McKinley declared himself strongly opposed to any reapportionment except such as followed directly after the taking of the census; and in the same speech, he gave his opinion of the work of the Democratic Congress, of which he had been a member.

"Where can you find in the work of the Democratic party in the last House anything which commends it to the favor and support of the people? It is true it furnished a door-keeper, at the beginning of the session, who, by the

votes of the Republicans, was dismissed for malfeasance in office. It is true that, without regard to the will of majorities or the law of the land, but to increase their power in the House, they unseated Republicans, and put in their places Democrats who had never been elected. They created the Potter committee, which, in the language of Alexander Stephens, 'was a cyclone burst upon the House, and its only effect was to disturb the peace, harmony, and quiet of the country.' " . . . " They cast a dragnet into the official waters, but were successful in catching Democratic delinquents only. They reduced the tax upon whiskey and tobacco and proposed to increase it upon sugar to maintain the revenues of the government. What relief have they brought to the suffering masses whom they promised to 'set upon their feet and crown with immortal wealth and unfailing plenty' ? Where is the fulfillment of their promise ?

"Broken promises, disappointed hopes, increased appropriations, and threatened revolutions — these are some of the trophies of Democratic ascendancy ! . . . I am firm in the belief that we have a victory within reach, which can be secured by striving for it. The campaign is full of material which should be employed and carried to the people, showing Democratic faithlessness, and the dangers of Democratic ascendancy. No labor should be regarded too great to restore Republican control; no effort should be spared in securing a result so essential to good government and so necessary to the peace, order, and prosperity of the country."

It was on these lines that McKinley entered into his second campaign for Congress, in a district with which he

was unfamiliar, and with a nominal Democratic majority of 1,800 against him; but when the votes were counted election day, it was found that he had been elected by 1,300 majority.

He had rendered forceless the machinations of Democratic legislation. But the Democrats had been more successful throughout the country, and for the first time since the Congress that was chosen with President Buchanan in 1856, their party was in control of both legislative branches, and Mr. Randall was again chosen speaker of the House over Mr. Garfield — this time by a vote of 143 to 125. The gallant fight that McKinley had made in his district, with the prestige that he had won during his first term in Congress, secured him a much more important position. Speaker Randall placed him on the Judiciary committee.

The Forty-sixth Congress was not a notable one, and few questions came up to draw anything unusual from any of the members of the House. One act of the Democratic majority was an attempt to repeal the existing election law, by a provision in the bill making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the government.

McKinley threw himself into this fight, and opposed the provision with all his might. He declared that this practical repeal of these laws would remove every safeguard against fraud in the exercise of elective franchises, and would again make possible the enormous outrages upon a pure ballot and free government, which marked the elections in the city of New York and elsewhere in 1868. The proposition, he said, was an open assault upon the freedom and purity of elections. The peroration of his

long speech on this question is a good example of his animated and vigorous style, with its crisp, clean-cut sentences, each like the thrust of a bayonet. He said:

“The country is not asking for it. Business will suffer and is suffering every day from the agitation of a continued extra session of Congress. Uncertainty in legislation is a terror to all business and commercial interests, and this uncertainty exists, and will continue, so long as we remain in session. Let us remove it. Let us pass the appropriation bills, simple and pure. Let us keep the Executive Department in motion. Let the courts of the United States go on and clear up their already over-crowded dockets. Let the representatives of the government abroad, upon whom our commercial relations with other nations so largely depend, be not crippled. Give the pensioners of the government their well-earned and much-needed pensions. Let the army be clothed, provisioned, and paid. Do this, striking out all political amendments from the appropriation bills. Adjourn speedily, and give the country that peace and rest which will be promotive of the public good. When we have done this, we have evidenced the wisdom of statesmen and the work of patriots. Let the people, then, the final arbiter, the source of all power, decide the issue between us.”

This speech was followed by tremendous applause in the House, and was reckoned one of the best made during that session.

In the next election, that in which Garfield was elected President, McKinley was renominated and re-elected from the same district by a good majority. He acted as temporary chairman of the Republican State convention at Co-

lumbus in 1880, and made crimes against the ballot the subject of much of his speech, predicting that in the coming campaign, conservative men, free and independent in politics, would act with the Republicans, believing that the business and material interests of the country were more secure with the Republican party than with any other.

McKinley was one of the most sought after of the speakers in that campaign, and when Garfield made his historic trip to the Fifth Avenue Hotel conference in 1880, he had McKinley go with him and speak at every stopping place. At Buffalo, they were met by Governor Cornell, Marshall Jewell, Frank Hiscock, and Levi P. Morton, then in Congress; and they had a triumphant tour through the Empire State. Before Congress met, Garfield was dead, and Arthur was President. The Forty-seventh Congress again had a Republican majority, and McKinley secured the place on the Ways and Means committee left by Garfield. He had already become one of the leaders in the House in debates upon economic and financial questions.

The tariff question reappeared, but in a different manner, an act being passed in May, 1882, for the appointment of a commission of nine persons to consider tariff matters — the duties on imports then in force yielding more revenue than was sufficient. The protectionists favored a tariff commission because they believed that any changes should be made after careful investigation, and without inflicting damage upon any important line of manufacture. In December, 1882, the commission which had been appointed made a report to the House of Representatives, and out of this report, the Committee on Ways and Means formulated and reported a tariff bill which made an average re-

duction of 20 per cent. The two strongest advocates of the bill were the late William D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, the chairman of the Ways and Means committee, and McKinley. The latter delivered a long speech in the House in April, 1882, advocating the commission — going over the history of tariff legislation, and taking sides strongly for a protective tariff. It was while delivering this speech that he had a lively tilt with Abram S. Hewitt of New York, who was considered one of the shrewdest men on the Democratic side of the House, and a sharp debater. In the course of his remarks, McKinley said that Hewitt, who did him the honor to be listening, was pleased to advance an axiom in the school of protection which ought to be perpetuated. "He declared at that time, what I have never seen better stated, 'that free trade will simply reduce the wages of labor to the foreign standard.'"

Mr. Hewitt. "Will the gentleman quote the authority for that?"

Mr. McKinley. "Yes, sir; will the gentleman deny it?"

Mr. Hewitt. "I do not know; I will tell you in a moment when I hear where it is."

McKinley said he did not expect to go into this matter except to make the quotation, but as Hewitt had called for the authority, he invited his attention to a correspondence that took place between Hewitt and Jay Gould in 1870, and which could be found published in the Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Association. Gould's letter to Hewitt stated that he did not feel at liberty to attach his signature to a memorial praying for a reduction of the duty on steel rails, and he asked Hewitt's



THE HALL OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL.

advice, and Hewitt in his letter, which McKinley read, said that he did not believe in the reduction of duty on steel rails, and added: "The only reason why we pay more for American steel rails is because we pay a higher rate for the labor which is required for their manufacture, but for no greater quantity of labor. Free trade will simply reduce the wages of labor to the foreign standard."

"The only reason," continued Hewitt in his letter, "why a tariff is necessary, is to supply the laborer with such wages as will enable him to travel and consume, not merely the necessities, but some of the luxuries of modern civilization."

"And yet, the other day," said McKinley, "the gentleman declared on the floor of this House that protection had nothing to do with the wages of labor."

Mr. Hewitt. "If the gentleman from Ohio will permit me to interrupt him, I will make the answer now; otherwise I will wait till he gets through."

Mr. McKinley. "Does the gentleman deny the letters?"

Mr. Hewitt. "On the contrary — they are genuine."

Mr. McKinley. "That is all I want to know; the gentleman can reply to me later on."

The colloquy continued until McKinley made Hewitt admit that in the iron and steel business, in which he was interested, and in protected industries, protection was needed for the purpose of maintaining the rate of wages in the United States.

In the debate on the bill submitted by the Ways and Means committee early in 1883, McKinley made a notable speech upon the tariff, which, read in the light of events,

was a striking prophecy of what was to occur. He came out squarely for the principle of protection as a feature of duties on imports — not simply a protective tariff, but a tariff for protection. It should be said that, before the tariff bill was taken up in the House, another Congressional election had been held — that in the fall of 1882 — and that McKinley had made another struggle against a new Democratic reapportionment, and that he was elected by a majority of only eight votes.

Towards the close of his speech on the tariff bill he said: “Mr. Chairman, we can have the Democratic doctrine of free trade whenever the Democratic party can make slaves of our laboring men, but not until then. [Applause on the Republican side.] Why, if labor was degraded on this side of the Atlantic like the other, we might compete with the best manufactories of the world in any market. No lover of his race, no friend of humanity, wants reduced wages. I do not speak for capital. Capital can take care of itself. Rob it of its profits in any of the so-called protected industries, and it will seek other avenues of investment and profit. I speak for the workingmen of my district, the workingmen of Ohio and of the country.”

Mr. Springer. “They did not speak for you very largely at the last election.”

Mr. McKinley. “Ah, my friend, my fidelity to my constituents is not measured by the support they give me. [Great applause.] I have convictions upon this subject which I would not surrender, or refrain from advocating, if ten thousand majority had been entered against me last October [renewed applause]; and if that is the standard of political morality, and conviction, and fidelity to duty

which is practiced by the gentleman from Illinois, I trust that the next House will not do, what I know they will not do, make him speaker of the House. [Laughter and applause.] And I trust another thing, that that general remark interjected here, coming from a man who has to sit in the next House, does not mean that he has already prejudged my case which is to come before him as a judge."

Mr. Springer. "Your constituents have done that for you."

Mr. McKinley. "For if he has, then he would be subject to be taken from the panel of jurors, because he had already expressed an opinion in the case which was to be tried before him."

Mr. Springer did not have the chance to act as judge in McKinley's case in the next Congress.

CHAPTER XV.

UNSEATED BY DEMOCRATIC HOUSE—HORIZONTAL TARIFF REFORM DEFEATED.

Democratic Landslide of 1882—Grover Cleveland Comes to the Front—McKinley in his Old District—McKinley's Opponent Elected by only Eight Votes—Judge Folger Thinks them a Good Many—Carlisle Elected Speaker—McKinley's Opponent Contests his Seat—The Morrison Bill for Horizontal Tariff Reduction—McKinley Shows up its Inconsistencies and Absurdities—Calls it the Invention of Indolence and the Mechanism of the Botch Workman—"They Toll not Neither do they Spln"—The "Carlisle Shape"—Prediction Regarding Tariff Reduction on Wool and Woolens—The Ohio Convention—McKinley Elected a Delegate—A Blaine Man—Returns to Washington—Speech on the Wallace Contest—He is Unseated.

THE Democrats of Ohio having observed that the previous gerrymander by which McKinley had been thrown into a strong Democratic district had only resulted in a larger success for the increasingly popular protectionist, passed another act by which he was again placed in his old district. But it will be remembered that the elections of 1882 constituted a landslide in favor of the Democrats. Grover Cleveland was brought into notice by his phenomenal majority of over 192,000 for Governor of New York over Judge Folger, a result due to the intense quarrel between the Stalwarts and Half-breeds in the Republican ranks of that State. The Republicans also of Pennsylvania lost the head of their ticket after an exciting

campaign, the Democrats electing Governor Pattison. Besides this, McKinley was seeking a third term, and some of the old leaders in the original district had not forgotten the ease with which, six years before, the young attorney of Canton had stepped to the front, and set them all aside.

To be in politics in Ohio, it is almost impossible to avoid becoming involved in home wrangles. Perhaps little is lost by them in the end for they continually excite a large degree of interest in public affairs, promote active partisanship, and produce strong men. There was some strong opposition to McKinley's nomination, but his sincerity of purpose, his rapid advancement in Congress, the strong friends he had made there, his devotion to duty, as well as his many popular qualities, easily gained him the support of a large majority of the Republicans of his district for the nomination, and though a good deal of dissatisfaction was caused in circles which should have been loyal to him under all circumstances, he was elected, but by the narrow majority of eight votes. His Democratic opponent, Jonathan H. Wallace, promptly filed a contest. In some towns votes had been cast bearing other names than his, which Wallace claimed were intended for him. The contest was a notable one, and engaged the attention of the committee on elections for very nearly the whole session of Congress. Meanwhile Major McKinley kept his seat, and was one of the most active and useful members.

A story is told concerning a visit which McKinley paid to Judge Folger at the Treasury Department soon after the election. Folger, as we have said, had been buried under a majority of 192,000 votes. McKinley mentioned the fact that his majority was only eight votes.

"Young man," said Secretary Folger, "let me tell you that eight votes is a mighty big Republican majority this fall."

The Forty-eighth Congress convened December 3, 1883, and John G. Carlisle was chosen Speaker of the House by 190 votes to 113 for J. Warren Keifer. Morrison of Illinois, chairman of the Ways and Means committee, two months later introduced his "horizontal" tariff bill. McKinley had already become the active and leading man of the Ways and Means committee on the Republican side. Judge William D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, who had long been the guardian of the protective tariff, and who was the senior Republican member of the Ways and Means committee, was becoming an old man, and recognizing in McKinley the natural leader for the protective cause in the future, generously cast his mantle upon him, and that year, as on subsequent years, McKinley performed the hard work for the Republican side, preparing the minority report on the Morrison bill. He also took the brunt of debate against the bill, and his forcible exhibition of the incongruities and inconsistencies of the measure was largely instrumental in its rejection later.

In the debate on the Tariff Commission bill of 1883, the Democrats had sought to fasten upon the Republican majority the charge of being incompetent to frame a tariff bill of their own, and so for that reason had abrogated a constitutional duty, and had farmed out the work to an expert commission. But when two years later Morrison brought in this same commission bill with a proposition for a horizontal reduction of twenty per cent. all around, with the added provision that the reduction should not operate

to reduce the duty below the rate at which any article was dutiable under the tariff act of 1861, commonly called the Morrill tariff, and in no case should cotton goods pay a higher rate of duty than forty per cent. ad valorem, and wools and woolens a higher rate than sixty per cent. ad valorem, and metals a higher rate than fifty per cent. ad valorem, McKinley had a rare opportunity, which he fully improved, to vent his fine sarcasm on the subject of the Democratic capacity for revenue legislation. In the course of his speech he demonstrated by facts and figures that the measure, if it became a law, would involve dispute and contention upon nearly every invoice, and would lead to frequent, expensive, and annoying litigation. Articles would pay an ad valorem rate under one act, and a specific or compound rate under the other. He cited 118 classes of this kind. He said it would be almost impossible to ascertain the dutiable rate where the descriptions of classifications were so different, and showing already that wonderful familiarity with the various schedules, he took them up, one after the other, challenging the advocates of the bill to sit down and make calculations upon the articles he had named, and give their dutiable rates. He pointed out how, in some cases, the least variation in the price of goods in the same invoice would require classifications under different tariff regulations.

Then he turned upon the Democratic side of the House and said: "And all these absurdities, complications, and incongruities, a majority of this House are asked to solemnly enact into public law, which the people of this country are asked to submit to, because there are gentlemen who are unwilling to sit down and carefully mature a discriminating

tariff act. The advocates of this bill criticized the Republicans of the last Congress because they created a tariff commission, asserting that such action was a confession of the incapacity of a majority of the Committee on Ways and Means to revise the tariff. By reason of incapacity, as they declared, the committee 'farmed out' the subject to a commission of nine experts. Much opprobrium was sought to be put upon the majority because of its alleged abrogation of a constitutional duty. What can be said of the capacity of the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means as evidenced by the bill now before us? It is a confession upon its face of absolute incapacity to grapple with the great subject. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] The Morrison bill will never be suspected of having passed the scrutiny of intelligent experts like the Tariff Commission. This is a revision of the cross-cut process. It gives no evidences of the expert's skill. It is the invention of indolence; I will not say of ignorance, for the gentlemen of the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means are competent to prepare a tariff bill. I repeat, it is not only the invention of indolence, but it is the mechanism of a botch workman. A thousand times better refer the question to an intelligent commission which will study the subject in its relation to the revenues and industries of the country than to submit to a bill like this. They have determined upon doing something, no matter how mischievous, that looks to the reduction of import duties; and doing it, too, in spite of the fact that not a single request has come either from the great producing or great consuming classes of the United States for any change in the direction proposed. With the power in their hands, they have determined to put

the knife in, no matter where it cuts, or how much blood it draws. It is the volunteer surgeon, unbidden, insisting upon using the knife upon a body that is strong and healthy; needing only rest and release from the quack whose skill is limited to the horizontal amputation, and whose science is barren of either knowledge or discrimination. And then it is not to stop with one horizontal slash; it is to be followed by another, and still another, until there is nothing left either of life or hope."

The Democrats winced under the force of this charge, so transparently true, and they winced also under some of the pleasantries which McKinley introduced into his speech in a striking variation to the long array of facts and statistics and mathematical calculations he produced to show the absurdities of the measure. Glancing at Mr. Dorsheimer of New York city, an attentive and interested listener, Mr. McKinley said:

"I have been unable to find any sentiment in the United States, except in the utterances of the Democratic majority in this House, and outside of the city of my distinguished friend (Mr. Dorsheimer), who sits before me, being the free trade clubs of his and the neighboring city of Brooklyn, any sentiment in favor of the passage of this bill. There is where it exists, and it is a remarkable fact that that class of gentlemen 'neither sow nor reap, and do not gather into barns.'"

Mr. Kasson. "And the lilies?"

Mr. McKinley. "Yes, the lilies. They are like the lilies of the field. 'They toil not, neither do they spin.' [Laughter.] They have fixed incomes, belong to the independent and wealthy classes who now buy most of their

goods abroad, and hope to buy them cheaper if the duties are reduced."

Speaking of the deep interest manifested by the foreign manufacturers in the success of the Democratic party, and of how they rejoiced and were made glad by the prospect of tariff reduction, he turned to the Speaker, and said:

"One firm of importers celebrated that free trade victory by christening a line of English goods with the significant trade mark, 'the Carlisle shape' [laughter and applause] and published as the 'coming thing,' [applause] named in honor of Speaker Carlisle, to whom that country looked to reduce the present outrageous tariff on crockery. [Applause.] These goods, made in a foreign pottery, with foreign materials, foreign labor, and foreign capital, are fittingly crowned with the head of the British lion. Pass this bill, and you will all have 'shapes' and be honored with like manifestations of approval. [Applause.] I know my honored friend, the Speaker, craves no such distinction."

In the course of this speech, made twelve years ago, he made a prediction regarding wool, and woolen industries, which thousands of farmers and manufacturers can appreciate to-day. He said: "Free trade, or a revenue tariff, will glut this market with foreign woolens, made by foreign labor, cheaper than our own, and the effect will be to break down our woolen factories 'which make the market for our own farmers.' . . . I warn you that every assault made upon the woolen manufacturer, no matter how slight, is directed alike at the wool grower. You cannot cripple the one without diminishing the business of the other."

With consummate skill, he directed his speech to forcing a concession from Morrison as to the difference in the cost of labor in other countries than this. He took the subject matter up to a certain point, and then turning to Morrison, said:

"My friend from Illinois seemed to dissent a moment ago when I said there was a difference in the rate of wages."

Mr. Morrison. I did not, sir; there is a great difference in the rate of wages in some industries, and some difference in all.

Mr. McKinley. I beg the gentleman's pardon. The gentleman from Illinois in view of the statements I have made within the last five minutes now admits there is a difference. I thank him for the frank confession.

A month later the Morrison tariff bill was rejected in the House, which boasted of a Democratic majority of 77.

Just previous to McKinley's speech on the Morrison bill in the House, he had returned from the Ohio State convention for the nomination of delegates to the National convention in the fall. McKinley went into the convention a Blaine man. Although there was the warmest feeling all through the State for John Sherman, who was also a candidate for the presidency, there was in many sections of Ohio a stronger sentiment for that illustrious leader, James G. Blaine, and being a Blaine man, McKinley simply represented the prevailing opinion in his district, and, in fact, throughout the eastern section of the State. Sherman understood exactly McKinley's attitude, and they were warm friends.

McKinley was made permanent chairman of the con-

vention, performed its duties in an efficient and impartial manner, and in his speech forcibly presented the issues of the day. The struggle between the Blaine and Sherman forces came upon the election of delegates at large. The Blaine men, although understanding that Foraker's first choice was Sherman, acquiesced in his election as a delegate at large by acclamation. Several names were then presented for the remaining three places. It was insisted that as the Blaine men had consented to elect Judge Foraker by acclamation, they were entitled to a reciprocal compliment, and asked for the nomination of the venerable Judge West of Bellefontaine. Then many motions were made for the election of other men by acclamation, and great confusion prevailed. Finally one of the leading delegates mounted a chair and nominated McKinley as the second delegate at large.

This was one of the occasions on which McKinley showed his magnanimous sense of honor and good faith. From his place in the chair he thanked the convention, but said that he could not, under any circumstances, allow his name to go before the convention at that time, for others who were candidates had been assured by him that he would not permit his name to be used while theirs were before the convention. The hall was in an uproar, the majority being plainly in favor of the election of McKinley by acclamation. Mr. King of Muskingum county, getting upon the platform, put the motion, and declared it carried, while McKinley was pounding with all his might upon the table, and protesting. McKinley ruled that the motion had not prevailed. General Grosvenor, amid the greatest excitement, mounted the platform, put the motion a second

time, and declared it carried. McKinley again ruled that the motion had not prevailed, and insisted that a vote be taken upon the names already submitted, excluding his own. His decision was appealed from, and the chair was not sustained. Yet McKinley stubbornly and firmly refused to admit the validity of the motion of General Grosvenor, who then rose to a point of order, and insisted that as McKinley had been elected by acclamation, the convention had now to elect but two more delegates at large. Chairman McKinley overruled this point of order, and said that the business before the convention was the election of three delegates at large, and this decision was appealed from. The convention now settled down to a firm determination to defeat Chairman McKinley in his efforts to prevent his own nomination. McKinley again spoke, begging the convention to sustain him in his position. The balloting went on, and it was evident from the beginning that McKinley was sure to be elected. A further contest was stopped, and McKinley was elected as delegate at large by acclamation.

After his return to Washington, and the defeat of the Morrison tariff bill, the committee on elections reported in the contesting case of Wallace for McKinley's seat. On May 27, 1884, when a vote was to be taken, McKinley rose from his seat in the House, and made a characteristic speech. He said among other things:

"I only ask from this House, the majority of which is opposed to me politically, to administer in this case the law and the precedents which they have always administered in the past, and with those precedents determine whether the contestant or the contestee has a majority of the votes

in the Eighteenth Ohio district. . . . I rise more particularly to say — and, indeed, it is about all I desire to say — that I claim nothing upon technicalities. I would not, if I could, retain my seat one hour upon a mere mistake, or technicality, or inadvertence of election officers. And I say to this House that if it be necessary, to find that I am entitled to my seat, to throw out the ten votes in Carroll county, which upon the face of the returns appear to be an error in the count against the contestant — if to give me my seat you must invoke those ten votes and deduct them from the contestant, then I do not want my seat in this House. Although there is no legal proof that this is not an error, and although my friends have argued that part of the case in the light of the law, I desire here to say, to the majority and to the minority, if it becomes necessary to deduct those ten votes from the contestant to give me the seat, then I do not want it, and would not have it.”

It was practically conceded that by the law and the precedents McKinley was plainly entitled to his seat. Speaker Carlisle was strongly opposed to unseating him. But the Democratic majority could not resist the temptation to unseat so forcible an antagonist, even though the important work of that Congress was practically over, and he was unseated.

CHAPTER XVI.

A NATIONAL CHARACTER AT FORTY-ONE — THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1884.

McKinley Made Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions at Chicago — Speaks Seldom but Attracts Attention — Comes to the Front at a Critical Hour and Prevents Adjournment of the Convention — Blaine Nominated — Campaign of 1884 — John Sherman Re-elected Senator in Ohio in 1885 — McKinley's Prediction Concerning Cleveland's Administration — Believes in Offensive Republicanism — No Stragglers — His Speech in Virginia for ex-Confederates — The "Bloody Shirt" — Congress Meets — Carlisle again Speaker — McKinley Defends Labor Arbitration — Suspects the Reason for Hoarding the Surplus — Attacks Cleveland's Message and the Mills Bill.

SOON after McKinley was unseated, the Republican National convention met at Chicago. His speeches had attracted so much attention as clear and forceful statements of Republicanism that he was made chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. He read the platform, filling the whole great hall with his clear enunciation and strong voice, and received a hearty ovation. In the planks relating to tariff and financial questions may be detected his peculiar style of expression.

The tariff plank read: "It is the first duty of good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort

and independence of the people. We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not 'for revenue only' but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer; to the end that active and intelligent labor as well as capital have its just reward and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity. Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest."

At an important moment of the convention McKinley's qualities as a leader and as a man who could in an emergency appear and exercise a strong influence over a large body of men, came to the front. When he spoke he at once attracted attention, and at a critical time in the convention brought the Blaine forces into a solid line, and avoided a movement which might have led to Blaine's defeat.

In the three ballots that had been taken Blaine had constantly increased his lead, and then a final and desperate effort was made by those opposed to him, under the leadership of Foraker, acting in Sherman's behalf, and backed by friends of the other candidates to secure an adjournment. The anti-Blaine men and the Blaine men were frantically yelling from their chairs. In the midst of the turmoil, which threatened to become a panic, McKinley arose. He is not a tall man; he was then a young man, but his appearance is always noticeable. In times of excitement, his face is likely to become pale, while his dark eyes shine like fire from beneath his heavy brows. His voice

rang out in the midst of the turmoil. He waved his hand, and soon the hubbub ceased. The convention listened to hear what the Ohio man might say. He was master of the occasion. Calmly, but with force, he made a short speech to the effect that, as a friend of Blaine, he recognized and respected the rights of friends of other candidates to secure an adjournment, and added: "Let the motion be put, and let everybody in favor of the nomination of Blaine vote against it."

McKinley was sure that Blaine had a majority of the delegates, and knew that if he could, like a general upon the field of battle, make an order once understood, the forces would come forward in a solid line, and they did. The motion for an adjournment was put and voted down, and Blaine won the day.

During the campaign of 1884, McKinley was constantly in demand as a speaker. When Blaine made up his party, McKinley was included among those who made the tour of Indiana and Illinois. But, meanwhile he had another campaign of his own, for Congress, on hand, and the obstacles of another Democratic gerrymander to meet. This time the Democrats had placed in McKinley's district with Stark county, Summit, Medina, and Wayne counties, but the Democratic machinations again came to naught, and McKinley was elected by a good round majority.

In eight years from the time he had entered Congress — a man then unknown except to a small section of Ohio — he became a national character, known and admired all over the country for his thorough Republicanism, his faith in Republican principles, and his ability. He had just en-

tered his fortieth year. The Forty-ninth Congress did not meet until December 7, 1885, when Carlisle again became Speaker of the House. Meanwhile, Major McKinley was making campaign speeches in various parts of the country. In the fall of 1885 there was a warm contest in Ohio to secure the Legislature and insure the re-election of Senator John Sherman. One of his most notable efforts in that campaign was at Ironton, Ohio, October 1, 1885. Much of his speech was directed to a discussion of the outrages upon the suffrage in the South, a question with which he showed quite as much familiarity as with the tariff.

"There was found some palliation for slavery," he said, "it was recognized in the Constitution, and came down as an inheritance from the fathers; but no excuse either of law or tradition can hide this new slavery. No palliation can be found for the wicked and willful suppression of the ballot, and unless it be checked it will sap the very foundations of the republic, and destroy the only nation approximating self-government. This question, my fellow citizens, is at the foundation; it underlies all other political problems."

He expressed very little faith in the professions with which Mr. Cleveland had entered upon his administration. "Whatever Mr. Cleveland's individual purposes may be," he said, "I have never believed he could rise higher than his party or do anything else but register its will. The party is intent upon spoils, and little else. It has no policy of a national character; it has few aspirations higher than patronage. It has shown itself incapable of dealing with great questions and it has never measured up to the demands of the times or the emergency. Its professions of

reform are insincere and hypocritical, and under the false cry of 'offensive partisanship' it is doing what it has not the manliness to do openly and aboveboard. It does this by tale-bearing and false witness of neighbor against neighbor, at the expense of an open, frank, and dignified course."

Later on, he said: "We believe in offensive Republicanism — the Republicanism that fearlessly strikes for principle — that keeps its face always to the front, moving on and sweeping aside every obstacle that impedes the onward march of progressive ideas. The Cleveland administration likes inoffensive Republicans. We do not; we have no use for them; they are only useful to the enemy; they only retard the movement of our advancing columns; they are the stragglers moving with the baggage train — enrolled among us but never ready for duty and always ready to surrender without resistance."

Major McKinley, having had experience with stragglers on the fields of Antietam and Cedar Creek, could have used no more forcible an illustration of the idea he wished to convey. After Sherman's re-election had been secured, McKinley went to Virginia to help the Republicans in that State, and in a speech at the Academy of Music, Petersburg, October 29, 1885, he stated what protection meant for Virginia. In the campaign in Virginia up to that time much had been said about "waving the bloody shirt." In his speech, as reported for the Virginia State Committee, interspersed with frequent remarks by his hearers, may be observed the skillful manner in which he adapted himself to his Southern audience, and the tact with which he met the arguments of Democratic stump speakers.

“That (the bloody shirt) seems to trouble the Democrats of the State of Virginia a great deal,” he said. [Cries of “Talk about it.”] “I do not know for the life of me, my fellow citizens, what the Democrats mean by ‘waving the bloody shirt.’ [A voice — “Nor anybody else.”] I do not know whether you know what they mean or not, but if they mean by ‘waving the bloody shirt’ that the Republican party of Ohio has insisted that every man in this country is the equal of every other man politically, then I want to confess before a Virginia audience, that we have ‘waved the bloody shirt.’ [Applause.] If that is what it means, we have not only ‘waved the bloody shirt,’ but the Republican party of this country, and the good men of this country of every political party will continue to wave it until every citizen of this republic shall enjoy every right guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States. [Great applause, and cries of “Talk about it.”] I have said that in Ohio. I say it in Virginia, in sight of the battlefields upon which we fought. We say it in the North, and we say it in the South, that not only shall the black man but the white man, the native born and the naturalized, enjoy equally every right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States wherever the American flag floats. [Applause.] And when we say that, my fellow citizens, we say nothing about the late war except its eternal settlements. I came down here to Virginia to speak for two ex-Confederate soldiers. I was all over the valley of Virginia during the ‘recent civil struggle.’ I know the stuff of which the Confederate soldier was made, and I know that no braver men ever drew sword than these Confederate soldiers of the State of Virginia.”

After that the audience was on his side. There was a tendency also in Virginia to sit down under the ancestral tree and talk about the past. In his speech, McKinley said: "While blood is an excellent thing (I like good blood), yet, my fellow citizens, do not forget that brains are safer, more to be relied upon than blood. They will serve you better, and every man in this country, as Senator Sherman has told you, must 'stand upon his own bottom'; every man must 'blaze his own way' in the United States. We might just as well commence to understand that now. [Cries of 'That's it.'] There is no royal blood among us; there are no descended titles here; there is no way in the world of getting on and up or earning money except by work. There are just two ways in the United States to acquire money: one is to steal it, the other is to earn it, and the honorable way is to earn it, and you earn it by labor, either the labor of the hand or the labor of the brain."

McKinley had very early predicted the inevitable struggle to ensue between President Cleveland and his party. In speaking to the Virginians only eight months after Cleveland's inauguration, he said: "The President is Democratic, or they think he is. [Applause and laughter.] They thought he was, but I do not know how he is going to turn out."

Soon after the Forty-ninth Congress met, there came up for consideration in the House a bill to provide for the speedy settlement of controversies and differences between common carriers engaged in inter-state and territorial transportation of property or passengers and their employes. McKinley came out enthusiastically as a friend of the measure and of arbitration as a principle, and on the 2d of

April, stated his opinion without reserve, showing that he was in favor of the bill "for what it was, and only for what it was, because it did not undertake to do impossible things or close the line of safety."

"I believe, Mr. Chairman, in arbitration as a principle. I believe it should prevail in the settlement of international differences. It represents a higher civilization than the arbitrament of war. I believe it is in close accord with the best thought and sentiment of mankind; I believe it is the true way of settling differences between labor and capital; I believe it will bring both to a better understanding, uniting them closer in interest, and promoting better relations, avoiding force, avoiding unjust exactions and oppression, avoiding the loss of earnings to labor, avoiding disturbances to trade and transportation; and if this House can contribute in the smallest measure, by a legislative expression or otherwise, to these ends, it will deserve and receive the gratitude of all men who love peace, good order, justice and fair play."

In the Forty-ninth Congress McKinley met another opportunity to place on exhibition the inconsistencies of the Democratic majority. Early in the session, Morrison came forward with another tariff bill, by which it was proposed to reduce the receipts from customs by \$26,000,000. The committee failed to secure the courtesy of a consideration from the House on that measure, and very soon afterwards the same committee, speaking through the same chairman, brought in a resolution representing that there was not revenue enough on hand to pay the pensions of deserving soldiers. "What strange inconsistency!" exclaimed McKinley. "What is the matter? What can ac-

count for these contradictory positions within a week ? Now, Mr. Speaker, if we have not revenue enough to meet these demands to-day, then why did you want to reduce revenues \$26,000,000 last Thursday ? What has been done with that surplus since then ? . . . I say that is not fair; that is not frank; that is not manly. If we have no money in the treasury to pay the pensions of our worthy and dependent soldiers, let us put some there: let us provide means to increase our revenues."

A few days later the Democratic majority again laid itself open to an attack from McKinley, quick to discover weak positions in the enemy, by bringing in a motion directing the Secretary of the Treasury to use the surplus in the treasury for payment on the public debt, and about the same time Morrison offered a proposition to increase taxation by proposing a measure for the imposition of an income tax to meet certain proposed government expenses. President Cleveland and his Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning, were very much opposed to the bill directing the payment from the surplus for the reduction of the debt, and took occasion to say so.

McKinley pointed out the fact that in 1881, two years after the resumption of specie payments, the Republican Secretary of the Treasury called in \$121,000,000 of bonds and paid them off. In 1882, the secretary called in \$173,000,000 of bonds. In 1883, \$86,000,000 and in 1884 over \$70,000,000 were paid off and canceled. He showed that in its first sixteen months the Cleveland administration had paid off only \$58,000,000 or only about one-third of the average payments made under the Republican administration every twelve months.

McKinley thus early suspected the reason for the policy of hoarding the surplus, as the law already authorized the use of the surplus for the payment of the public debt. He said one day in the House, "Some gentlemen of the majority, in the confidence of the administration, ought to explain to us why the secretary does not exercise the discretion given him by the statute, and distribute the surplus. There must be some valid reason for it, some controlling reason which those charged with the management of our financial affairs know and realize better than we can."

He strongly suspected then that President Cleveland was hoarding the surplus and keeping it out of the hands of the people for use as an argument in an intended tariff message which in the very next Congress made its appearance.

In the fall of 1886, no gerrymander having complicated matters, Ohio being again Republican, McKinley was easily re-elected for another term. The Forty-ninth Congress adjourned in March, 1887, McKinley returned to Ohio on the 30th of August, and delivered an address on "Our Public Schools" at the dedication of the public school building at Canal Fulton, Ohio. On September 14th, he delivered a long address before the Mahoning Valley Pioneer and Historical Association at Youngstown. Later he devoted much time to campaign work for his friends. His speech at Dayton, October 18, 1887, is noted for the wise predictions he made of the course of events in the immediate future. He warned the people that the Democratic party and the free trade organizations of the country were never so restless and aggressive as then, sustained as they were by Mr. Cleveland with all his power and patronage.

It was suspected that Mills of Texas would be at the head of the Ways and Means committee in the next House, if Democratic, and would submit a bill making a radical reduction in the tariff; a bill that would really come from the summer garden of the President and not from the chosen representatives of the people, and would be crammed down the throats of Democrats as an administration measure. But, said McKinley, "Let us appeal to the highest judgment and reason of the people, and our appeal will not be in vain. To that judgment we confidently commit our claims."

CHAPTER XVII.

McKINLEY AND THE MILLS BILL — FREE TRADERS DEFEATED IN THE FIFTIETH CONGRESS.

The Protectionist at Boston — Description of the Man who has Outgrown his Country — Another Bond Resolution — McKinley Exposes the Administration's Purpose — Mills Bill Presented — McKinley's Minority Report — The Majority Gives no Information to the Minority — Denounced by McKinley — Closing day and a Brilliant Spectacle — Discourtesy of Mills to Randall — McKinley Yields Time to the Pennsylvanian — Cheers for the Ohioan — McKinley's Speech — Discomforting the Free Trader — Leopold Morse Caught in a Trap — McKinley Purchases a Ten-Dollar Suit at Morse's Store — "You, Sir, Have Closed the Debate."

THE Fiftieth Congress convened December 5th, 1887. Carlisle was again chosen Speaker of the House, this time by a vote of 163 to 147 for Thomas B. Reed, and President Cleveland sent in his famous tariff message, using the surplus in the treasury as an argument for reducing duties, as McKinley had predicted, and claiming that it was a condition, not a theory, which confronted the government. Mills of Texas was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and the Democratic majority set to work to prepare a tariff bill based on the "Cleveland theory."

Meanwhile, McKinley paid a visit to Boston at the invitation of the Home Market club, and at its banquet at



THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL, FROM THE EAST.

The Senate Chamber is in the right wing; the Hall of the House of Representatives in the left wing.

the Hotel Vendome, February 9, 1888, delivered an address on the tariff question which was a clear and widely quoted statement of the Republican position. "The President," he said, "has emphasized the issue and marked the line of contest. We accept his challenge, and appeal from him to the people, the only sovereign we tolerate or recognize in the United States."

He directed much of his speech to a refutation of the arguments for "free raw material," which seemed to find favor among some Massachusetts and Rhode Island manufacturers, and declared that it was fallacious and seductive. He warned them that protection would not respond to the beck of one interest and turn a deaf ear to the earnest calls of another. Into the farmers' ears, the Democrats were whispering another seductive idea — that they would secure their manufactured articles cheaper. "They are not," he said, "troubled about the increased cost of woolen fabrics as a result of the tariff. The President's sympathy for them is uninvited and gratuitous. He groans beneath the burden which he declares they bear and which they have never felt, and without commission or authority, assumes to speak for them."

"It is left," he said, "to the President, standing apart from his illustrious predecessors, to frown with contempt upon a national policy which gave us the money, in large part, to carry on the war for the Union to a successful and glorious conclusion; that has enabled us to meet all our obligations in peace, to establish the highest credit in the commercial world, and to achieve a manufacturing rank second to none. He calls this system 'vicious, illogical, and inequitable'. We could frown back. We could

make faces, too; but that would be scarcely decorous or dignified; aye, it would be wholly unworthy a cause whose worth is in its work and to whose trophies every citizen can point with pride and satisfaction."

McKinley has a way of lighting up his long speeches, containing as they so often do long arrays of facts, figures, and extensive references to authorities, with little bursts of fervid appeal to his listeners, or with humorous descriptions of something relating to his subject. In his speech at the Home Market club he introduced the following description of a man who had "outgrown his country," which may be quoted in full as an example.

"The party that tries to lead us back will be buried beneath popular indignation. [Applause.] From whom does this complaint come? It comes from the scholars, so-called, [laughter] and the poets, from whom we gladly take our poetry, but whose political economy we must decline to receive; from the dilettanti and would-be diplomats, the men of fixed incomes; it comes from the men who 'toil not, neither do they spin,' [great applause] and from those who 'do not gather into barns', [laughter] who have no investments except in bonds and mortgages, who want everything cheap but money, everything easy to secure but coin, who prefer the customs and civilization of other countries to our own, and who find nothing so wholesome as that which is imported, whether manners or merchandise, and want no obstructions in the shape of a tariff placed upon the free use of both. [Applause and laughter.]

"A college-bred American (who happily does not represent the educated men of the country), who had traveled

much in Europe, whose inherited wealth had enabled him to gratify every wish of his heart, said to me a few years ago, with a sort of listless satisfaction, that he had outgrown his country. What a confession! Outgrow his country! Outgrow America! Think of it! I felt at the time that it would have been truer had he said that his country had outgrown him; but he was in no condition of mind to have appreciated so patent a fact. He had no connection at all with the progressive spirit of his country. He had contributed nothing to its present proud position, or to the uplifting and welfare of his fellows; he had no part in the march of the republic. The busy, pushing American lad of humble origin, educated at the public schools, had swept by him, as effort and energy always lead, and leave the laggard behind. His inheritance was not invested in productive enterprises, nor was his heart located where it sympathized with the aspirations of the people with whom he was born and reared. His country had got so far ahead of him that he was positively lonesome, out of line, and wandering aimlessly along, to the rear of the grand procession. He was a free trader, for he told me so, and complained bitterly of the tariff as a burden upon the progressive men of the country, and that it severely handicapped him. When I pushed him to particularize the trammels which the tariff imposed upon him, as one of our sixty millions of people, he raised his hand, which had never been soiled by labor nor touched by honest toil, tightly encased in a French kid, and said: 'These gloves come enormously high here, sir, by reason of the tariff; the duty is actually added to their foreign cost, which falls heavily upon us consumers.' What answer

could I make to such an indictment ? How could I repel such a blow at our great industrial system ? Discussion would have been idle. I could only regard him in speechless silence, and gaze upon him with a feeling mixed with curiosity, pity, and contempt. [Applause and laughter.] I heard later on that he became a Mugwump ! [Laughter.] That was the newest manifestation of protest against the iniquitous system of tariff which we had in America. It gave the poor fellow the opportunity of leadership, for all are leaders in that narrow circle of free trade spirits, and there my friend found a fit asylum for a man who had outgrown his country." [Great laughter and applause.]

Then in one of those serious and eloquent appeals to the patriotic sentiment of his hearers, he said:

"I would secure the American market to the American producer [applause], and I would not hesitate to raise the duties whenever necessary to secure this patriotic end. [Applause.] I would not have an idle man, or an idle mill, or an idle spindle in this country, if, by holding exclusively the American market, we could keep them employed and running. [Applause.] Every yard of cloth imported here makes a demand for one yard less of American fabrication.

Let England take care of herself; let France look after her interests; let Germany take care of her own people, but, in God's name, let Americans look after America ! [Loud applause.] Every ton of steel imported diminishes that much of home production. Every blow struck on the other side upon an article which comes here in competition with like articles produced here makes the demand

for one blow less at home. Every day's labor upon the foreign products sent to the United States takes one day's labor from American workingmen. I would give the day's labor to our own, first, last, and all the time, and that policy which fails in this is opposed to American interests. To secure this is the great purpose of a protective tariff. Free traders say, give it to the foreign workmen, if ours will not perform it at the same price, and accept the same wages. Protectionists say no; the workingmen say no, and justly and indignantly resent this attempted degradation of their labor; this blow at their independence and manhood."

While Mills and the Democratic majority of the Committee on Ways and Means were secretly at work upon their tariff bill, a resolution came up in the House to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to apply the surplus money then in the treasury, or such surplus money as might later be in the treasury, for the purpose of redemption of United States bonds. A similar resolution had been introduced by Morrison in the previous House, apparently against the wishes of the President at that time, but the severe criticisms that were made of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, for neglecting to use the surplus money to pay off the debts of the government, and the plain demonstration that the law gave them the right, but that they had neglected to use it, apparently forced the administration to seek a resolution of "authorization." McKinley pointed out that the law on the statute books had been introduced openly, and in the daylight, by the official head of the President's Cabinet, Secretary Bayard, when he was in the Senate, that no one had ever

thought to cast suspicion on it till President Cleveland did so, by suggesting that it had become a law through the medium of an appropriation bill. McKinley said that if that fact cast a suspicion on the appropriation acts of Congress, the President must condemn and refuse to execute nearly one-half the public laws, including the one that made his salary \$50,000 instead of \$25,000. He closed by saying:

“ Well, now, I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if there was any ulterior motive in piling up this surplus? I wonder if it was not for the purpose of creating a condition of things in the country which would get up a scare and stampede the country against the protective system? I wonder if this was not just what was in the mind of the President: ‘ I will pile up this money in the treasury, \$65,000,000 of it, and then I will tell Congress that the country will be filled with widespread disaster and financial ruin if it does not reduce the tariff duties ’? If the President thought that he was going to get up a storm of indignation and recruit the free trade army, break down the American system of protection, and put the free traders on top, he has probably discovered his blunder by this time; and the best evidence of it is that he now wants the very law which he has so long discredited solemnly re-enacted as if it were new and original with him; and so, having failed, he comes here through his Secretary of the Treasury — and I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the gentleman from Texas will read the letter of the secretary upon this subject — he comes here through his secretary and asks us to pass this bill, which is a duplicate of existing law.”

Mills introduced his bill on April 2d, rehearsing the

arguments made by Mr. Cleveland in his message. The minority report was written by McKinley and was a clear, dignified protest against the measure and the method by which it had been framed and sprung upon Congress.

The bill was presented ready-made by Mills, was framed, completed and printed without the knowledge of the Republican minority. If any consultations were had in committee, Republicans were excluded. Every effort on the part of the minority to obtain from Mills and the majority the facts concerning the bill was unavailing. And a resolution to refer the bill to the Secretary of the Treasury for a statement of its probable effect on the revenue had been voted down by a strict party vote. The majority had worked on this bill behind closed doors, affording no opportunity to producers, consumers, experts, or workmen to state their case. It was not an easy matter under the circumstances for anyone to prepare an adverse report, but it is acknowledged that the report made by McKinley is one of the best tariff documents which Congress has produced, though neither so elaborate nor so specific as the long speech which he delivered later.

The general debate on the bill began April 17th and continued for twenty-three days and eight evenings. There were one hundred and fifty-one long speeches. Then it was debated by paragraphs for twenty-eight days, and passed on July 21, 1888, by a vote of 162 to 149. It was May 18, the day the general debate closed, that McKinley made his long speech. The scene in the House was one seldom witnessed. The galleries were crowded. By special resolution ladies were admitted to the floor. It was a brilliant and expectant throng such as is attracted to

the House but rarely, and only when the greatest speakers in Congress are to make their greatest efforts on the question of the hour. For two months the discussion had been going on, and this was the great and final day.

It had been arranged that Judge Kelley, the veteran protectionist of the House, should open the debate, and McKinley, who had become the natural leader on the Republican side of the discussion, should speak last, closing the debate on his side, but Haskell of the Kansas delegation, and a Republican member of the Ways and Means committee, desired the honor of closing the debate, and asked Judge Kelley to persuade McKinley to give way to him. The judge sought out the generous McKinley, who readily consented, saying he did not care in what order he spoke, and he sat calmly awaiting his time at his desk, which was loaded with books and documents.

The speaker who preceded him was Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, a Democrat of the old school, who was speaker of the House when McKinley entered Congress. Randall had been brought from a sick bed — it soon proved to be his death bed — to speak on the bill and against certain provisions of it. He was the leader of the now reduced wing of protectionists in his party. In a voice at times almost inaudible, but still impressive, the great Pennsylvanian labored on, and before he was through, his time expired amid cries of "go on." Randall asked for an extension, but Mills, with a natural discourtesy, walked to the front and shouted, "I object." The cry was repeated by several Democratic members of extremely low tariff persuasion.

The pallid face of the great Democratic leader was sad

as he sank into his seat, and through the galleries and over the House sounded a murmur of disapproval at the discourtesy of the Texas "tariff reformer" in thus silencing one of his own party, and one who had thrice presided over the body as Speaker. In the tumult, the chair announced that McKinley had the floor.

"Mr. Speaker," he cried, and the tumult in the House faded into silence; "I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania out of my time all that he may need in which to finish his speech on this bill."

The great throng in the galleries and on the floor broke into a mighty cheer; ladies waved their handkerchiefs; the tall form of ex-Speaker Randall again appeared above his desk. He was deeply affected by the generous act, thanked McKinley feelingly, and closed his speech.

It was no wonder that when McKinley rose he was greeted as the favorite of the audience. His long speech was listened to with the deepest attention. Every strong point he made was followed by spontaneous applause. It was one of the most masterly tariff speeches ever heard in the historic Capitol. He began in a quiet manner, lucidly defining a revenue tariff, a protective tariff and their difference, and then turned to specific features of the bill, pointing out absurdities in it that could not fail to raise a laugh to the discomfiture of Mills and his colleagues. At one time, holding up an iron rod in his hand, he said: "Here is a piece of wire rod drawn from these steel billets which finally goes into fencing; this is dutiable at 45 per cent. under the bill; and the steel from which it is made is dutiable at 63 per cent. What do you think of "raw material" for our manufacturers?"

He followed this up with a statement of other cases to show the shallowness of the "free raw material" pretensions of the other side, turning the laugh upon the uncomfortable majority every time. In ridiculing the boasted claim that the bill, which provided free wool, was of advantage to the farmers, he asked what help they would obtain.

"None. They leave the shears he clips his wool with at 45 per cent. ad valorem. They make his wool free, and then make the farmer pay 45 per cent. for the shears with which he clips his wool. [Laughter.] But that is not all. The bell, the sheep bell — if my friend from Massachusetts (Mr. Russell) is here, if that golden-shod shepherd from Worcester is here [laughter and applause] he will understand. It is the bell that is put around the neck of the sheep to admonish the shepherd of the whereabouts of the wandering flock under his charge. . . . I learn he is now here in his seat; I am glad to see him. He knows what I am talking about. [Laughter.] They have left them dutiable at 45 per cent. ad valorem. Why, even the sheep will be ashamed of you, gentlemen." [Laughter.]

Proceeding to the question of "cheaper clothes" — one of the boasted claims for the bill, he intentionally and successfully drew Congressman Leopold Morse, the Boston merchant, and one of the free trade leaders, into a trap, to the great enjoyment of his audience and of the whole country, when it appeared in the newspapers. Proceeding quietly with his speech, McKinley said:

"The expectation of cheaper clothes is not sufficient to justify the action of the majority. This is too narrow for

a national issue. Nobody, so far as I have learned, has expressed dissatisfaction with the present price of clothing. It is a political objection; it is a party slogan. Certainly nobody is unhappy over the cost of clothing, except those who are amply able to pay even a higher price than is now exacted. And besides, if this bill should pass, and the effect would be (as it inevitably must be) to destroy our domestic manufactures, the era of low prices would vanish, and the foreign manufacturer would compel the American consumer to pay higher prices than he has been accustomed to pay under the "robber tariff," so called.

Mr. Chairman, I represent a district comprising some 200,000 people, a large majority of the voters in the district being workingmen. I have represented them for a good many years, and I have never had a complaint from one of them that their clothes were too high. Have you ? [Applause on the Republican side.] Has any gentleman on this floor met with such complaint in his district ?

Mr. Morse. They did not buy them of me.

Mr. McKinley. No ! Let us see; if they had bought of the gentleman from Massachusetts it would have made no difference, and there could have been no complaint. Let us examine the matter.

McKinley here produced a bundle containing a suit of clothes, which he opened and displayed, amid great laughter and applause. Turning to Morse, he continued: "Come, now, will the gentleman from Massachusetts know his own goods ? [Renewed laughter.] We recall, Mr. Chairman, that the Committee on Ways and Means talked about the laboring man who worked ten days at a dollar a day, and then went with his ten dollars wages to buy a

suit of clothes. It is the old story. It is found in the works of Adam Smith. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] I have heard it in this House for ten years past. It has served many a free trader. It is the old story, I repeat, of the man who gets a dollar a day for his wages, and having worked for the ten days goes to buy his suit of clothes. He believes he can buy it for just ten dollars, but the "robber manufacturers" have been to Congress, and have got one hundred per cent. put upon the goods in the shape of a tariff, and the suit of clothes he finds cannot be bought for ten dollars, but he is asked twenty dollars for it, and so he has to go back to ten days more of sweat, ten days more of toil, ten days more of wear and tear of muscle and brain to earn the ten dollars to purchase the suit of clothes. Then the Chairman gravely asks, is not ten days entirely annihilated?

"Now, a gentleman who read that speech or heard it, was so touched by the pathetic story that he looked into it, and sent me a suit of clothes identical with that described by the gentleman from Texas, and he sent me also a bill for it, and here is the entire suit; "robber tariffs and taxes and all" have been added, and the retail cost is what? Just ten dollars. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] So the poor fellow does not have to go back and work ten days more to get that suit of clothes. He takes the suit with him, and pays for it just ten dollars. [Applause.] But in order that there might be no mistake about it, knowing the honor and honesty of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Morse), he went to his store and bought the suit. [Laughter and cheers on the Republican side.] I hold in my hand the bill."

Mr. Struble. Read it.

Mr. McKinley (reading): Boston, May 4, 1888.

J. D. Williams, bought of Leopold Morse & Co., men's, youth's, and boys' clothing, 131 to 137 Washington street, corner of Brattle—I believe it is.

Mr. Morse. Yes, Brattle.

Mr. McKinley (reading): To one suit of woolen clothes, \$10. Paid. [Renewed laughter and applause.] And now, Mr. Chairman, I never knew of a gentleman engaged in this business who sold his clothes without profit. [Laughter.] And there is the same ten-dollar suit described by the gentleman from Texas that can be bought in the city of Boston, can be bought in Philadelphia, in New York, in Chicago, in Pittsburg, anywhere throughout the country, at ten dollars retail the whole suit—coat, trousers, and vest—and forty per cent. less than it could have been bought in 1860 under your low tariff and low wages of that period. [Great applause.] It is a pity to destroy the sad picture of the gentleman from Texas, which was to be used in the campaign, but the truth must be told. But do you know that if it were not for protection you would pay a great deal more for these clothes? I do not intend to go into that branch of the question, but I want to give one brief illustration of how the absence of American competition immediately sends up the foreign prices, and it is an illustration that every man will remember. My friend from Missouri (Mr. Clardy), who sits in front of me, will remember it. The Missouri Glass Company was organized several years ago for the manufacture of coarse fluted glass and cathedral glass. Last November the factory was destroyed by fire. Cathedral glass was their specialty. Within ten days from the time that splendid property was reduced to ashes, the foreign price of cathedral

glass advanced twenty-eight per cent. to the American consumer. [Applause on the Republican side.] Showing that whether you destroy the American production by free trade or by fire, it is the same thing; the prices go up to the American consumer, and all you can do is to pay the price the foreigner chooses to ask." [Renewed applause.]

When McKinley sat down there was long and continued applause and cries of "vote." Members crowded around to congratulate him, and Haskell, who had begged the privilege of closing the debate for the Republican side, leaned over his desk, just back of McKinley's, and grabbing the latter's hand enthusiastically exclaimed:

"Major, I shall speak last, but you, sir, have closed the debate."

It should be said that, severe as McKinley's punishment of Leopold Morse was, it engendered no bitterness. Those whom he treated with the greatest severity in debate often became his firm friends. When Morse was being driven in one of his elegant turnouts to the Capitol one day — a new-fangled, very high-wheeled affair — he caught sight of McKinley striding along on the walk and invited him to ride. McKinley stopped, glanced at the immense wheels, and, without heeding the footman, climbed up over the barrier to the seat.

"McKinley," said Morse, "anyone who saw you get in would think you a better Democrat than I."

When they came to get out, McKinley found that the footman could open an arrangement which allowed of both easy exit and entrance to the lofty seat. He enjoyed the discovery, and advised Morse as a Democrat to become more approachable.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A QUESTION OF HONOR — LOYALTY TO JOHN SHERMAN IN 1888.

McKinley Heads the Ohio Delegation to Chicago — Receives Marked Attention — Cheered When he Enters the Hall — Unmistakable Tide towards Him — The Thrilling Scene on Saturday — Thrusting Aside the Honor as a Delegate Pledged to Sherman — The Tide Turned — His Personal Appeal to Various Delegations — Pleading with the Connecticut and New Jersey Delegations — Blaine's Final Letter and Harrison's Nomination — McKinley Becomes a Leader of the Fifty-first Congress — Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee — McKinley Gallantly Defends the Quorum Rule on the Floor of the House — Preparing the McKinley Bill.

SHORTLY after the events of the memorable day in McKinley's career, just recorded, he attended the Chicago convention as the delegate from Ohio in the interests of John Sherman. Four years before, it will be remembered, he had been a Blaine delegate, though Sherman was the choice of a part of the Ohio men. In 1888, Blaine, who was then in Europe, had written a letter declining to be considered a candidate. Yet, at the Chicago convention he had enthusiastic support. That convention was one of the most stirring and memorable in the history of the party. McKinley, fresh from the prolonged tariff debate, at the close of which he had made his notable speech, was one of the most conspicuous men upon the floor.

He did not seek to be such. In fact, his coming in and his going out seemed to be calculated so as not to attract any attention, but every time he entered he was greeted with great enthusiasm by the spectators. This man, now in his forty-fourth year, who had flung all qualifications to the wind and stepped to the front as the champion of protection, of and for itself, naturally appealed to the popular admiration and enthusiasm.

The first ballot was cast on June 22d, the leading candidates of the nineteen voted for being John Sherman, Walter Q. Gresham, Russell A. Alger, and Benjamin Harrison. When Connecticut was reached, early in the roll call, there was a vote for McKinley which awoke a quick, enthusiastic response from the spectators. On the second ballot also a few scattering votes appeared for McKinley, and the convention adjourned until the next day, Saturday, when three ballots were taken, the votes for McKinley increasing steadily as the balloting continued, and whenever announced were received with growing enthusiasm on the floor of the convention and in the galleries. Sherman, Harrison, Alger, Allison, and Gresham still continued to receive large votes also as leading candidates, but the friends of Blaine were pushing him as enthusiastically as ever. It was becoming evident that it would be difficult to make a choice. There was talk of a stampede for Blaine, but it was injudicious. The newspaper correspondents sensed the situation exactly and suggested that the warring elements combine upon some new man like McKinley, who was so warmly greeted by the people, so evidently popular with them.

Friday night, and during all the next day, delegates

from all parts of the country were asking each other, "Why not nominate McKinley?" All the Republican Congressmen then in Washington, united in a telegram, urging McKinley as a splendid solution of the matter, and rumors of a break to him were heard from all directions. The drift was unmistakable, and McKinley saw it. People were expecting to see a repetition of the episode by which Garfield was nominated in 1880. It was an exciting moment, but as the final roll call on Saturday went on and it became evident that more and more votes were slipping from the other candidates towards McKinley, he leaped upon his chair, from his place at the head of the Ohio delegation, and demanded recognition. The noise in the convention was hushed in an instant. Every eye was turned upon him, and in a calm and determined manner he said:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen:—I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my State. I am here by resolution of the Republican State convention, passed without a single dissenting voice, commanding me to cast my vote for John Sherman for President, and to use every worthy endeavor for his nomination. I accepted the trust because my heart and my judgment were in accord with the letter and spirit and purpose of that resolution. It has pleased certain delegates to cast their votes for me for President. I am not insensible to the honor they would do me, but in the presence of the duty resting upon me I cannot remain silent with honor. I cannot consistently with the wish of the State whose credentials I bear and which has trusted me; I cannot with honorable fidelity to John Sherman, who has trusted me in his cause and with his confidence; I cannot, consistently, with my own views of

personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this convention. I would not respect myself if I could find it in my heart to do so, or permit to be done that which could even be ground for anyone to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to Ohio, or my devotion to the chief of her choice, and the chief of mine. I do not request, I demand, that no delegate who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me."

The literature of political conventions has seldom, if ever, afforded a more dramatic or inspiring incident. No one doubted his absolute sincerity, or his thorough honesty, and, after he had taken his seat, there was no one who did not admire the Ohio statesman more than ever, and who did not more than ever desire an opportunity to vote for him. They believed what he said, and momentarily the tide turned and McKinley felt that his plea had been heeded. After the third ballot on that exciting day the convention adjourned over till Monday. On Sunday it became apparent that McKinley's renunciation of any desire to be a candidate, his avowal that he should consider his candidacy dishonorable and his plea for Senator Sherman were not to have the intended effect. Delegations met, and, moved by the incidents of the preceding day, decided to cast their votes solidly for McKinley, who, meanwhile, was doing all he could to secure the nomination of Sherman. He heard of the intentions of several of the delegations, and went to them promptly in person.

Going to the Connecticut delegation he pleaded with it earnestly, as one delegate said, "almost with tears in his eyes," that they should relinquish any purpose of casting

ballots for him. With an Ohio friend, Hon. John Little, he then proceeded to the New Jersey delegation, which he heard had determined to vote for him on Monday. It was just after midnight. He found the chairman of the delegation, Garret A. Hobart, an old acquaintance, and now his associate on the Republican ticket, and telling him what he had heard, asked if it were true. Hobart said that whether true or not, it was a matter for the New Jersey delegation to determine; that it was accountable only to the Republicans of New Jersey. McKinley's face flushed for a moment, and he said, "I beg your pardon, but the matter concerns me also," and he felt that it was his right to know what the purposes of the delegation were. Mr. Hobart told him that since he was so earnest about it, his delegation had determined to cast its vote for William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, for President, "from now on to the end, and we shall not be alone." Then McKinley asked to see the delegation, and for three or four minutes he pleaded with them to change their purpose, earnestly and in a subdued tone, to suit the surroundings and the hour. It was a moment of suppressed excitement. Towards the close, as the story goes, he raised his right arm, and with that peculiar pallor on his face, which comes in moments of earnestness, he said that he would rather suffer the loss of that arm than accept the nomination, if it were possible, under the circumstances. The delegation was deeply moved. He was told that if he felt in that way about it, of course they would not vote for him. He thanked them profoundly, and then asked, as they had so kindly granted his request, that they would do him another favor and cast their votes for John Sherman.

In such manner did McKinley labor that night, going

from one delegation to another, to turn the tide which had been setting in his direction, and set aside the honor that the convention was ready to place upon him. To one who suggested that he had done as honorable a thing as the story of American politics ever told, McKinley replied:

“Is it such an honorable thing not to do a dishonorable thing?”

When the convention met Monday morning McKinley was the master of it. Blaine's letter came, reiterating his refusal to be a candidate, and the nomination went to Benjamin Harrison on the eighth ballot. There were few delegates in that convention who seriously doubted that if McKinley had refrained from protesting with such earnestness, from working with such zeal to head off the movement in his favor, he would have been the presidential candidate of that year. Few men, under the circumstances, would have avoided the temptation, or even if they had desired, as McKinley did, to stop the movement, would have labored so earnestly to do so. It was a revelation of the character of the Ohio man which thousands of Republicans stored in their memory while waiting for an opportunity to honor the one who had thus shown such a sense of honor.

The Fiftieth Congress continued in session during most of the campaign of that year; and McKinley was in demand much of the summer as a campaigner. One of his notable speeches was the address to the Piedmont Chautauqua Association at Atlanta, Georgia, August 21st, which had invited him to address a Georgia public upon the subject of Protection in the South. He told them that the South had shared in the splendid progress made under protective

tariff laws, that a new era of industrial development had come to them, and that nothing should be permitted to check or retard it. He spoke of the new coal and iron mines, and other gifts with which nature had been so prodigal, and said that nothing but the South's own folly, nothing but blindness to its highest and best interests could keep it from the front rank among the industrial sections of the country.

In the second session of the Fiftieth Congress a substitute for the Mills Bill passed the Senate, and, on January 26th, was debated in the House and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. McKinley pleaded earnestly against this course. He said that if the bill with the Senate amendments went to the Committee on Ways and Means, with its Democratic majority, no practical legislation would be had at that session of Congress, and any questions of the revenues of the government, so pressing as Mills had claimed, would continue unsettled. He urged that if the House of Representatives met the Senate in free and open conference, and those provisions upon which all agreed, and could meet on common ground, were adopted, the revenues could be reduced from \$35,000,000 to \$40,000,000, and still preserve for future settlement the general policies of taxation respectively adhered to by the two parties. With fine sarcasm he said, in closing:

"It is not a theory, it is a condition. Shall we run away from the condition which we can in part relieve, or waste our valuable time now upon theory? Shall we reduce the revenues of the government? We have an opportunity to do so and to move in that direction this morning, but if this bill goes to the Committee on Ways and Means, mark

my word, there will be no practical legislation reached at this session of Congress." McKinley's prediction proved true.

The Fiftieth Congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1889, when President Harrison was inaugurated, and between that and the meeting of the Fifty-first, McKinley delivered some notable addresses, particularly the one on the American Volunteer Soldier, at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York city, on Decoration Day, and his campaign speech at Music Hall, Cleveland, in October, upon Protection and Revenue.

When he entered the Fifty-first Congress it was fresh from a vindication from the people. From the moment McKinley left his law practice to enter upon a Congressional career, his identity with the protective tariff policy had steadily increased, and now in the Fifty-first Congress he was logically and pre-eminently the one man for the chairman for the Committee on Ways and Means, and for the leader of the House upon the floor. It is a notable fact that no Republican sought this important chairmanship over McKinley's head, and this demonstrates the feeling existing at that time that the Ohio man, by virtue of his grasp of the great problem of the day, was the fitting champion of the protectionist's cause in the approaching contest.

The Fifty-first Congress was Republican in both Senate and House, but by a small majority. In the Senate there were 39 Republicans and 37 Democrats, and in the House 164 Republicans and 161 Democrats. It seemed futile to think of carrying through the House, by such a narrow majority, a great measure involving so many interests, and it was while McKinley and his committee were faithfully at

work upon a tariff bill that Speaker Reed, with whom, at all times, McKinley was working in perfect harmony, promulgated his famous quorum rule, which was, that members of the House who were present during a session, although not answering to the roll-call, could be counted to make a quorum. It will be remembered that this rule was vigorously denounced by the angry Democrats, but was adopted as one of the House rules nevertheless, and was enforced throughout Congress. Subsequently, in a test case it was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States that the rule was valid. In his contest for this rule, Speaker Reed had no more valiant supporter than McKinley. McKinley said that it was more of a constitutional question than a parliamentary one, that he could find no warrant for the position taken by Carlisle as to the alleged requirements in the Constitution of the United States. The letter of that Constitution, he said, does not declare that the majority of the House voting shall constitute a quorum; it does not declare that the majority of the House of Representatives answering to their names upon the roll-call is essential to a constitutional quorum; it does not provide in any one of its sections how that question of the quorum is to be determined, how the number of members is to be ascertained. It is left to the House, and the House can leave it to the Speaker, whose organ he is.

During this speech he had sharp tilts with Carlisle, Crain, Breckinridge, and other Democratic leaders in the House, showing his quickness in retort and the inability of the Democrats to disturb him or get the best of him. Taking a supposed case of twenty men on his side of the chamber when a yea and nay vote was called, who should, for any

reason sufficient unto themselves, either because they had an interest in the measure, or for any other good reason, ask to be excused from voting, and were excused, "then," asked Mr. McKinley, "would any man claim that those twenty gentlemen should not be counted to constitute a quorum, although they did not vote?"

Mr. Oates. Are they not participating in the proceedings?

Mr. McKinley. I beg pardon. Exactly. They are participating, and they are participating no more in the proceedings of the House than you were participating yesterday [loud applause on the Republican side], the only difference being that these twenty men were acting in an orderly [laughter and applause], in a lawful and parliamentary manner [laughter and applause], and the gentlemen on the other side were acting in defiance of the law and the orderly conduct of public business.

Mr. Crain. Being excused, would they be counted?

Mr. McKinley. Undoubtedly, to make a quorum they would be counted; that is the point I make.

He appealed to the Representatives to be honest with each other and with the country, and if bills were defeated that they be defeated in a constitutional way. He said:

"The position of the gentlemen on the other side means that they will either rule or ruin, although they are in the minority. We insist that while we are in the majority they shall do neither.

Mr. Crisp. If the gentleman has his majority here he need not ask us to assist.

Mr. McKinley. "The gentleman" is not only entitled to have his own majority here, but he is entitled to have the

legally elected representatives of the people here, and here always. [Renewed Applause.]

Mr. Crisp. In the language of Mr. Blaine, I deny utterly that you have any right to say that I shall be present or vote, except as the Constitution gives you the right to require my attendance.

Mr. McKinley. I know you deny it, and we are discussing whether that denial is right or wrong. That is the issue, whether it is true or whether it is false.

With this question settled, McKinley turned his attention to facilitating the introduction of the tariff measure which was to bear his name.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE McKINLEY BILL — THE GREAT MEASURE OF THE FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

McKinley's Modesty in Speaking of his Own Achievements — His Associates Trust him Implicitly — His Belief the Basis of the Act — How it was Framed — No Interest Refused a Hearing — Working on Schedules until after Midnight — His Associates Marvel at his Powers of Endurance — A Brilliant Scene on the Day he Presents the Measure — His Speech Listened to with the Greatest Attention — Protection a Conviction, Not a Theory, with Him — The Passage of the Bill — It Becomes an Act — McKinley's Control of the Measure in the House — His Able Management of Men — The Question of Reciprocity — The Most Harmonious Tariff Act Ever Put on the Statutes.

MCKINLEY always spoke of the great measure of the Fifty-first Congress as The Tariff of 1890 ; the people have always spoken of it as the McKinley Bill. The reason is that McKinley is constitutionally and habitually modest and reticent regarding himself and his achievements, but the people have the instinct of calling things by their appropriate names, and they are keen in fixing, by common consent, credit where it belongs. McKinley did not desire to make the bill his own; his ambition was to make it a measure of the Republican party, and he did it. He sought co-operation and welcomed it always. Some of his supporters and admirers were able



THE SENATE CHAMBER IN THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL.

men, and he gave them every opportunity they desired to show their leadership upon any subject connected with the bill, he even expressed his admiration for the assistance contributed by his colleagues in that connection. Yet, after all, the bill was his — in its principles, in its details, in its phraseology, and in its successful management. Two years later, after the Republican defeat of 1892, when members of his own party were charging the reverses to the tariff act, he accepted full responsibility for it. Later, when the tide turned and the act was welcomed as an issue by Republicans, he again spoke of it as The Act of 1890. The House of the Fifty-first Congress, it should be remembered, was the first Republican House for many years. There was an army of men on the Republican side of the House, and in the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means, who had had comparatively little experience in any constructive legislation.

McKinley, "born within the sound of rolling mills and beneath the smoke and flame of furnaces," from childhood a student of economic questions, especially as involved in American legislation, had demonstrated his extensive knowledge, not only of the general principles of revenue legislation, but of the relations to trade and commerce of the smallest articles in the tariff schedules. Probably no Congressman ever had shown so thorough a knowledge of the uses of the various commodities, or of the processes by which they entered into manufacture. He had pointed out to Mills and his colleagues in the preceding Congress facts they had never dreamed of.

It was, perhaps, fortunate that the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means, of which he was made chair-

man, contained no specialists men of one idea, who are usually dangerous. It was certainly fortunate that they depended constantly upon his knowledge, and trusted implicitly in his judgment. The larger principles involved in the measure, such as related to the administrative features, the mathematical calculations upon the industrial and commercial effect of various changes, and their effect upon federal revenue, were derived from him. His belief formed the basis upon which the measure rested; his spirit was the inspiration of the whole act.

How and when did he do it all? The room of the Committee on Ways and Means at the Capitol, and his little office at the Ebbitt House were the liveliest workshops in Washington during the Fifty-first Congress. The industry of framing the bill ran day and night, into the small hours. The Committee met in its room at the Capitol to hear all who wished to be heard on the bill, manufacturers, laborers, importers, free traders, and protectionists. The McKinley Bill was no "closed door" affair. Not a single interest, asking to be heard, was refused, in significant contrast to the way in which the Mills bill had been framed, and to the way in which the Wilson-Gorman act was secretly doctored and concocted later. At the very beginning McKinley announced that he would listen to the testimony of any of the great interests of the country until the bill was finally passed. So frank and open was he in his work that the business of the country continued in a feeling of absolute security. There was no distrust, and rumors could not be used in Wall Street to shake the foundations of finance or frighten commercial and business men. Wheels turned, and looms hummed with no interruption.

Only a part of the work was done in the Committee room. Those who worked with him, and those who were in a position to know, assert that they saw him nightly in his room go over schedule after schedule, changing them here and there, and adapting each to the interests it was designed to meet. There were more visitors to McKinley's quarters every evening, it is said, than any day to the Committee room at the Capitol. Every representative of an interest affected by that legislation felt that his mission had not been accomplished until a personal interview had been secured with the Representative who was to advocate the principles of protection on the floor and defend the measure against the assaults of its enemies.

Of course, there were many who went to Washington to secure changes which were not needed and would not have been wise. They found in McKinley a man who could not be caught by plausible arguments. If he thought they were selfishly demanding more than the prosperity of their industry required, he carefully examined the matter to make sure of it, and having made himself sure of it, he directed his examination to the question as to what the industry required to be prosperous, not what the man required to be rich. His purpose was to secure the greatest good to the greatest number, and he was as just to his political enemies as to his political friends in this respect.

It is related that a manufacturer, a Democrat, sought him in his rooms and said to him, "Mr. McKinley, I have been to my member in the House, who is a Democrat like myself, to have him help me get a hearing before your Committee. I have been to my Senator, who is a Democrat, and I have been to others, and they have all failed me. I

have come directly to you. I have no claim upon you, but I want to ask the privilege of presenting my case."

McKinley sat down with the man until midnight, listening to his exposition, searching books and the precedents, scrutinizing the schedules, and at last said to the manufacturer, who was a stranger to him, "Your claim is just. I thank you for bringing my attention to it. We should have erred if we had left this schedule as it is. I will see that it is changed."

Never, until midnight, was McKinley at liberty to get a breath of fresh air, and often long after that hour did he sit in his room poring over manuscripts, with piles of papers on his table, surrounded by books of reference and assisted by his secretaries. These young men were worked to such an extent that they marveled at the endurance of their chief. Besides all this, during the latter part of the time, McKinley had to answer all sorts of questions in the prolonged debate, and defend all sorts of changes in the schedules. He was never found to be in doubt or uncertainty as to any feature of the measure.

It is recalled that whenever an attack came from the Democratic side upon any particular item in the schedules, it was generally McKinley who rose to reply. Occasionally he would indicate another member of the Committee, who, he said, had given special attention to that matter, but in nearly every case it was McKinley himself who had given the special attention. His explanations were always clear, and left no uncertainty upon either side of the House. He was acquainted with every technicality in the bill, as the long debate showed, and his familiarity with a subject so full of intricacies caused his acquaintances, as well as those

who did not know at what a sacrifice his personal knowledge had been obtained, to marvel at the mind of the man. He did not consider it a sacrifice, for to McKinley, study is quite as much a passion as patriotism.

E. Jay Edwards, the well-known Washington correspondent, recently wrote "If McKinley had been seen by the American people when he was engaged in acquiring and applying knowledge, he would have been discovered in his committee rooms, sometimes eight or ten hours a day, or in consultation with his committee at his private rooms often until long past midnight. He would have been seen exploring the mysteries of chemistry, reading the reports of trade associations, sometimes with great volumes massed up before him, through which he searched with the penetrating industry of one who compiles history; and, in addition to these duties, was his occupation upon the floor of the House. Such labor as this is exceeded by no lawyer preparing briefs, no physician making research into disease, no merchant in his counting-room, and it puts to the highest test the industry of a man for dreary drudgery. The maker of a tariff bill, the faithful member of a Ways and Means Committee, whether he be a protectionist or the opposite, knows his country and has his finger upon the pulse which beats with the material energy of the world."

Such is a picture of McKinley, as the maker of the tariff bill from the opening of the Fifty-first Congress in December to the introduction of the bill from the committee on April 16th, and then on to May 21st, when it was passed by a vote of 164 to 140.

That day in May, on which the bill came up for debate, there was another notable occasion in the House of Repre-

sentatives. The galleries were thronged, as they had been on the day when McKinley made his great speech against the Mills bill in a preceding Congress, and when McKinley arose and walked down the centre aisle from which to speak, every eye in the House was upon him, and the newspaper reader will remember that the telegraph keys clicked the story to all parts of the world.

His speech was a plain, concise statement of the reasons for the bill and of the principles on which it was framed, and of the changes that had been made. It was in no way so marked an oratorical effort as his speech against the Mills bill, yet, it was followed with intense interest by his great audience. He marshaled his facts, adapted them to different schedules, making the figures speak for themselves, and then closed with a summary of the effects of protection, and drew contrasting pictures of the different effects produced upon the country by the opposite policies.

“ We have now enjoyed twenty-nine years continuously of protective tariff laws — the longest uninterrupted period in which that policy has prevailed since the formation of the Federal government — and we find ourselves, at the end of that period, in a condition of independence and prosperity, the like of which has never been witnessed at any other period in the history of our country, and the like of which has no parallel in the recorded history of the world. In all that goes to make a nation great and strong and independent we have made extraordinary strides. In arts, in science, in literature, in manufactures, in invention, in scientific principles applied to manufacture and agriculture, in wealth and credit, and national honor, we are at the very front, abreast with the best and behind none. . . . We

have a surplus revenue and a spotless credit. . . . To reverse this system means to stop the progress of the republic, and reduce the masses to small rewards for their labor, to longer hours and less pay, to the simple question of bread and butter. It means to turn the masses from ambition, courage, and hope, to dependence, degradation, and despair. . . . Talk about depression — we would then have it in its fullness. . . . Everything would, indeed, be cheap — but how costly when measured by the degradation that would ensue. When merchandise is the cheapest, men are the poorest; and the most distressing experiences in the history of our country — aye, in all human history — have been when everything was the lowest and cheapest measured by gold, for everything was the highest and the dearest measured by labor. We want no return of cheap times in our own country. We have no wish to adopt the conditions of other nations. Experience has demonstrated that for us and ours, and for the present and the future, the protective system meets our wants, our conditions, promotes the national design, and will work out our destiny better than any other. With me this position is a deep conviction — not a theory. I believe in it, and thus warmly advocate it because enveloped in it are my country's highest development and greatest prosperity; out of it come the greatest gains to the people, the greatest comforts to the masses, the widest encouragement for manly aspirations with the largest rewards, dignifying and elevating our citizenship, upon which the safety and purity and permanency of our political system depends. [Long-continued applause on the Republican side and cries of "Vote," "Vote."]

In his control of the bill, all through the debate, Mc-

Kinley revealed the highest qualities as a leader, and in the management of men who were deeply impressed, not simply by his strong convictions, but by his marvelous knowledge of the subject. If they could not depend upon him, who was there upon whom they could depend? Never before, probably, had a measure making such radical changes and of such sweeping influence gone through the House without the frequent and severe application of the party whip. The Republican majority was very small, yet McKinley saw his whole party in the House rally under his leadership with no treachery in the ranks. Solidly, harmoniously, enthusiastically, did the Republican party enter into the struggle on all important measures, not only for protection, but against unsound money, for the quorum rule, for the federal election bill, against the anti-civil-service resolution, and in all other matters that came up while McKinley was the leader upon the floor, though he was to all appearances thoroughly absorbed in the tariff question.

A few days after the bill passed the House it was reported in the Senate, where, with some amendments, it passed on Sept. 10th by a vote of 40 to 29. The amendments were not concurred in by the House and the bill went to a Committee of Conference between the two Houses. After ten days of careful consideration, in which McKinley maintained his position in all important matters, the Committee reported on Sept. 26th. The final vote was, in the Senate, yeas 33, nays 27; in the House, yeas 152, nays 81. It was promptly signed by President Harrison and took effect on October 6, 1890.

Besides the radical changes in the schedules and in the

administrative provisions, the bill contained an entirely new feature called the "reciprocity clause," the credit for which has been generally given to James G. Blaine, and, unquestionably, in a large degree, with justice. McKinley did not seek to take unto himself the credit for anything that did not belong to him. In his speech introducing the bill, he said that he would leave the subject of reciprocity and the propriety of treaties and commercial arrangements to the "illustrious man who presides over the State department of this administration, and to my distinguished friend, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in this House." But, it is not true, as has been claimed, that McKinley opposed the reciprocity feature. He was deeply and almost exclusively interested, of course, in the rearrangement of the duties so as to reduce the revenues by insuring the largest degree of protection to the country's industries consistent with sufficient revenue, but he was also interested in the policy of reciprocity, or in any plan for the enlargement of our commerce upon a fair and equitable basis. He did not believe in a reciprocity in which the United States was always to be the loser.

William E. Curtis, Secretary of the Bureau of American Republics, and for many years close to Mr. Blaine, stated in an interview upon the subject in 1891, when the Democrats were claiming that McKinley was opposed to reciprocity, that Mr. Blaine had asked that there be no disturbance of duties on merchandise from South America, a suggestion which the Ways and Means Committee did not follow.

"When Mr. Blaine found," said Mr. Curtis, "that it was proposed to remove the duty on sugar, he sent me to

McKinley with a proposition which he wanted added to the bill as an amendment. It afterwards became known as the Hale Amendment. It provided that the President should be authorized to take the duty off sugar, whenever the sugar-producing nations removed their duties on our farm products and certain other articles. Mr. McKinley presented this amendment to the Committee on Ways and Means, and it was not adopted. Mr. McKinley voted for it the first time it was presented. Then a second proposition, containing some modifications, was presented, and Mr. McKinley voted for that as he voted for the Blaine reciprocity amendment every time it was submitted and in whatever form. It has been currently reported that Mr. Blaine denounced the McKinley bill with such vigor that he smashed his hat. Mr. Blaine's opposition to the bill was because of the free sugar clause."

"When what was known as the Aldrich Amendment was adopted, Mr. Blaine was perfectly satisfied, and there is nothing in the current tales that he is unfriendly to McKinley. On the contrary, he is one of his warmest friends. Had it not been for Mr. McKinley and Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island the reciprocity clause in the tariff act would never have been adopted."

The McKinley bill, as passed, was without doubt the most complete, thorough, harmonious, and American tariff law that was ever framed in Congress. It was framed after careful calculation with reference to the prosperity of the business of the country. Of the changes it made and of the discussion which took place over those changes and the manner in which the bill was denounced by its enemies, and commended by its friends, it is not necessary to speak. It

was a great victory for Major McKinley. It was of the greatest benefit to the industry of the people, and to the commerce of the country.

It was in the middle of his busy Congressional year, after his great measure had passed the House, and while it was in the Senate, that McKinley was called to face a great sorrow. His eldest sister, Annie, she who had exercised so marked an influence upon his early years, who had been a devoted and self-sacrificing sister always, and who had followed his successful career with pride and unshaken faith, died July 29, 1890.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CONGRESSIONAL DEFEAT OF 1890—McKINLEY'S FAITH UNSHAKEN.

The Last Democratic Gerrymander to "Down" McKinley — The Democratic Gibraltar of the State Attached to his District — Defeat of McKinley the only Hope of Tariff Reform — McKinley Accepts the Nomination against Great Odds — Never Withdraws from his Party or its Principles — His Speech of Acceptance — A Campaign of National Interest — A Democratic Vote-Getter Opposed to Him — David B. Hill and Others Stump the District — The Democratic Majority Whittled Down — Days of Waiting — Jubilant Democrats and Free Traders Hooting and Jeering in Front of McKinley's Office — McKinley Calm and Unmoved — Some Republicans Waver in their Faith — McKinley's Editorial — "Protection was never Stronger than at this Hour."

WHILE McKinley was devoting his untiring energies to the construction of a tariff for the protection of American industries, and for the prosperity of the country, the Democrats, who had again come into possession of the Ohio Legislature, were devoting their energies to another gerrymander, and they proposed this time to make absolutely certain of keeping McKinley out of Congress, if such a thing were possible. The word had gone forth from anti-protection headquarters everywhere that free trade could not succeed until McKinley had been soundly beaten and

prevented from troubling the Washington tariff reformers. During his Congressional career, the Democrats had fastened to his home county, Stark, about every strongly Democratic county within reach. Representing four counties at each apportionment, he had, in the course of his Congressional career up to 1890, represented nine different counties — in 1876, Stark, Mahoning, Columbiana, and Carroll; in 1878 and 1880, Stark, Wayne, Ashland, and Portage; in 1882, Stark, Mahoning, Columbiana, and Carroll again; and in 1884-88, Stark, Summit, Medina, and Wayne.

But there was one county, Holmes, a corner of which touched Stark on the southwest, that had been a Democratic Gibraltar for years. It is a rather wild, untraversed bit of Ohio, hilly and secluded, a large part of whose inhabitants, even if they had heard of the war, had thought very little about it. It voted over two to one against Grant, and gave Hayes, an Ohio son, when candidate for President, only 1,241 to 3,171 for Tilden. Owing to the remoteness and inaccessibility of some of the towns, the county's vote was always slow in coming to hand, but it could always be calculated upon for about 2,000 Democratic majority. Up to 1890, the Democrats had apparently been confident of defeating McKinley by attaching to his home county two or three lesser Democratic strongholds, reserving Holmes to counterbalance strong Republican counties in other adjoining districts. But McKinley had overcome, to their surprise and chagrin, all these obstacles, and the only thing for them to do was to put Holmes county in his district with other Democratic counties, even if by the sacrifice they lost two or three congressmen elsewhere.

So when McKinley came to run for Congress again

in 1890, he found his district consisted of Stark, Holmes, Medina, and Wayne counties, which the year before had given Campbell, the Democratic candidate for Governor, an aggregate majority of about 2,900, the normal majority being over 3,000. To even the bravest public man, such odds much have appeared to offer only a forlorn hope, not worth the struggle, but McKinley in the war never drew back from a battle for his country, and in public life he never drew back from a struggle for his party or its principles. In accepting the nomination unanimously offered him at the Republican convention at Orrville, August 26, 1890, while the McKinley bill was still in the works at Washington, he said:

“ I turn to the new district and its faithful Republicans with hope and courage, and with a resolute purpose to join in bearing to the front the flag of our faith, and in resisting every assault upon the principles which are so essential to the nation’s growth and prosperity. It cannot be said that the new district is altogether new. We are not total strangers, although the counties constituting the district are for the first time in the history of the State brought into Congressional relations. With one of the counties — that of Stark — I have been identified in all the political changes of the last two decades, for even a Democratic Legislature has not yet been able to separate me from my home county, where all the years of my manhood have been spent, and where most that is near and dear to me in memory and association is to be found; nor are Wayne and Medina strangers to each other, or to me, in political association. Wayne has been twice in the district I have had the honor to represent — in 1878 and again in 1884; in which latter year Medina

was also associated in the same Congressional district. These were memorable years — each memorable in this, that a Democratic Legislature had carved out the district for a Democratic triumph, which, after one of the most notable local contests in the State, was happily and gloriously turned into a Republican victory. Nor are we strangers to Holmes county. The little band of enthusiastic Republicans of that Democratic stronghold are known the State over as faithful and unwavering in their devotion to the Republican party and to Republican principles."

Nothing, he said, remained but to meet the Democrats and join issue upon the field they had chosen — chosen for partisan advantage. Then he entered upon a short discussion of the work of the Fifty-first Congress up to that date.

McKinley entered into the contest as he did into all his struggles, with all his might, but much of the time he was compelled to be at Washington. The contest assumed a national importance, and its progress was chronicled in the daily papers throughout the country—and in foreign countries. The National committees of both parties took the greatest interest in the contest. The Democratic National committee practically assumed control of the Democratic canvass. It was recognized as a desperate fight to down the champion of protection, and the whole world looked on and admired as McKinley gallantly entered into the contest against such enormous odds. The Democratic committee sent David B. Hill of New York and other men of prominence in the party, into the district to speak against McKinley and for J. G. Warwick, the Democratic candidate, who was popular, and supposed to be able to poll the full Democratic vote.

Meanwhile, by October 1st, the McKinley bill became a law, and the Democrats everywhere, and nowhere so zealously as in McKinley's district, entered upon a campaign of misrepresentation, charging that the law had produced a great increase in the prices of articles which the consumers were compelled to purchase. They resorted to such schemes as engaging peddlers to go through the counties offering five-cent tin cups and plates at twenty-five cents each, saying that they were compelled to charge so much because of the McKinley bill. The Republicans accepted the challenge offered by their opponents and put the burden of proof upon the Democrats, but they simply retaliated by marching around and declaring that everything cost more because of the McKinley bill. Every man of business knew the absurdity and the falsity of the charge, but it produced for a while its effect upon people easily affected, even by fictions, if relating to their pocket-books.

After election day, everyone turned to see how McKinley had prospered. As usual, the returns from Holmes county were slow in coming in. For two days the result hung in the balance. McKinley had carried the other three counties, greatly reducing the Democratic vote, and everything depended upon Holmes. It appeared that, with anything like the normal majority in Holmes county, McKinley must have been badly beaten; but when finally the last returns had come in, it was found that the normal Democratic majority in the whole district of over 3,000 had been whittled down to 302. All over the country elsewhere the Democrats had made large gains. The wild cry against McKinley prices, although the bill had been in force only about a month, produced its effect. Other things com-

bined to turn the tide against the Republicans. The success of the new Democratic gerrymander of Ohio from a Democratic point of view is seen from the fact that the Republicans elected only seven out of the twenty-one representatives, although their combined vote for Congressmen exceeded the combined Democratic vote for Congressmen throughout the State by about 20,000. In no part of the Union was the tariff battle so squarely fought as in Ohio, and the fact that the State was carried on a popular vote of 20,000 was in no wise discouraging.

But people did not stop to think of that. They looked to the defeat of McKinley and the election of another Democratic House. Many Republicans began to doubt whether McKinley's theory of protection was wise or not. He was at Canton, where the greatest excitement prevailed on election day, and for two days after. The broad, main street of the place was crowded day and night with excited people from that section of the country, anxious to hear the returns from the district, and impatiently waiting for the vote of Holmes county. The Democrats grew very joyful and jubilant, and the Republicans could be seen here and there shaking their heads. At last, the second day after the election, McKinley's defeat was assured. The streets were crowded, and Democratic cheers and hurrahs were going up on every side. Thousands of exulting Democrats were parading about, yelling and jeering as they gathered outside the McKinley block, where McKinley was sitting in his office receiving returns. Editor George B. Frease, of the Canton Repository, was in doubt what course to pursue in his paper. Making his way through the crowd, he went to the McKinley block, and to McKinley's office.

"Major," he said, "what shall we say?" Mr. Frease was a young man, just beginning his career as an editor, and a man in whom McKinley had taken the deepest interest.

"Come with me," said McKinley, and he passed into a little back room of the block, which had been used for years as a sort of storeroom. Books, papers, piles of Congressional reports and speeches, packages of Congressional seeds, lay all about, covered with dust. The place was lighted only by a small skylight overhead, on which the dust had settled and long remained undisturbed. McKinley picked up a dusty old Congressional report of some kind, and turning to the blank leaf began to write rapidly, resting his foot upon a pile of rubbish and the book upon his knee, while the Democratic crowd could be heard yelling and cheering outside.

"Shall I get a lamp?" said Frease. McKinley shook his head, and in a few minutes handed the written page to Frease, and this is what he had written:

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

"Protection was never stronger than it is at this hour. And it will grow in strength and in the hearts of the people. It has won in every contest before the people, from the beginning of the government.

"It is a significant historical fact that whenever there has been a well-defined battle in this country between protection and revenue tariff, protection has triumphed. It will always be so, so long as we have a free ballot.

"The elections this year were determined upon a false issue. A conspiracy between importers, many of whom were not even citizens of the United States, and the free traders of this country, to raise prices, and charge it upon

the McKinley bill, was successful. But conspiracies are short lived, and soon expire. This one has already been laid bare, and the infamy of it will still further appear. Merchants are already advertising, now that the election is over, to sell at even lower prices than before the passage of the McKinley bill. The trick has won this time. The conspiracy has triumphed. But the people who have been duped will not forget. Nor will the friends of protection lower their flag or raise the British flag. The result this year is but history repeating itself. Every great measure for the benefit of the people and the country, passed immediately before an election, has been temporarily disastrous to the party responsible for it.

“The proclamation of emancipation, the XIV and XV amendments to the Constitution, measures of incalculable value to mankind, measures of justice and right, giant steps for humanity, were followed by disaster for the time, to the party in power. So with every great measure which time alone can vindicate. Passion and prejudice, ignorance and willful misrepresentation are masterful for the hour against any great public law. But the law vindicates itself, and a duped and deceived public reverse their decree, made in the passion of the hour.

“So will it be with the tariff law of 1890. Increased prosperity, which is sure to come, will outrun the maligner and villifier. Reason will be enthroned, and none will suffer so much as those who have participated in misguiding a trusting people. Keep up your courage. Strengthen your organizations and be ready for the great battle in Ohio in 1891, and the still greater one in 1892. Home and country will triumph in the end. Their enemies, whether here or

abroad, will never be placed in permanent control of the government of Washington, of Lincoln, and of Grant."

That was a notable exhibition, and not the only one in his career, of his sublime faith in the righteousness of protection as a principle and in its eventual triumph over all adversities. While other men were wavering, McKinley wavered not for a moment. He had said in closing his debate on the tariff bill that protection was a conviction with him, not a theory; and with the blood of the Covenanters running in his veins, he was not likely to be shaken, even by an upheaval that affected those about him. This is the first time he ever spoke of the tariff act of 1890 as the McKinley Bill. In defeat he was willing to take all the responsibility for it. He had faith that the time would come when others would gladly share it. And it did.

CHAPTER XXI.

ELECTED GOVERNOR IN 1891 — MCKINLEY COULD NOT BE DOWNED.

McKinley Returns to Washington — His Defeat Really a Victory — Regarded as a Hero rather than a Victim — Keeping up the Cry about "McKinley Prices" — His Reply to President Cleveland Concerning "Cheapness" — The Tariff Reformer Uncovered — Campaign Prices Convicted as Campaign Lies — Republican Sentiment Turns to William McKinley as a Candidate for Governor — Demand for an Open Air Nomination by Acclamation — A Notable Convention — Foraker's Speech — McKinley's Speech in Accepting — The Campaign Opened — Reviews the Parade from the Porch of the House in which He was Born — Discussing the Financial Issues — The Success of the McKinley Bill — Prosperity of the Country — McKinley's Majority over 20,000 — The Jollification at Canton.

SOON after his defeat for Congress McKinley returned to his duties at Washington, the second session of the Fifty-first Congress convening in December. His defeat made no change in his manners or in his habits of work. Really, his defeat was a victory, and in the eyes, even of his political enemies, he was more of a civic hero than a victim. Many invitations came to him to speak at meetings, political or otherwise. On December 22, 1890, he delivered an address on New England and the Future, at the New England dinner at the Continental Hotel, Philadelphia. With some New England blood in his own veins he could

readily enter into the New England spirit. "New England character, and New England civilization," he said, "course through every vein and artery of the republic, and if the New Englanders are not everywhere found, their light illumines the pathway of our progress, and their aims and ideas permeate and strengthen our whole political structure."

Meanwhile, the Democrats everywhere were jubilant over the recent turn of the tide in their favor; more than all at the "crushing defeat," as they termed it, of McKinley. Gratified with the first success of their loud clamor concerning "McKinley prices," they kept it up by all available devices. Cleveland made an anti-McKinley tariff speech in Columbus that winter, and at the Lincoln banquet of the Ohio Republican League, at Toledo, February 12, 1891, McKinley made a reply which deserves to live, as it will, as a convincing vindication of the patriotic American economic policy. Assigned to respond to the inspiring sentiment, American Citizenship, Cleveland had made "cheapness" the theme of his discourse, had counted it among the highest aspirations of American life, and among other things he said:

"When the laboring men are borne down with burdens greater than they can bear and are made the objects of scorn by hard task-masters, we will not leave their side."

"Can any man," said McKinley, "familiar with the history of his own country, believe that such an utterance was made in soberness and good faith by a leader of the Democratic party — a party which has imposed the only involuntary tasks and burdens ever borne by American citizens; which for nearly three-quarters of a century kept

the labor of almost one-half of the great country in slavery, bought and sold as chattels, and which repeatedly, by the enactment of free trade tariffs, undertook to place in industrial slavery the other half; which strove by every possible means to dedicate her vast public domain, not to free labor but to slave labor, and which now offensively denies to labor in one section of the country the use of the ballot, which is the free man's defense against wrong and oppression?" . . . "Cheap coats," he added, "at any price, at any sacrifice, even to the robbery of labor, are not the chief objects of American civilization, and to make them so is neither praiseworthy nor patriotic, nor does such a sentiment represent a noble aim in American life. We scorn cheap coats upon any such terms or conditions."

Again he said, "I have not failed to observe — nor have you — that the men who have their money unemployed in productive enterprises complain most of taxation, and usually pay the least. Their capital is not in active business. It is secure from the panics and financial difficulties which now and then sweep over the country. When lands go down, their loans go up. The depression of prices and wages only serves to increase the value of their money and mortgages. 'Theirs is the capital,' as Cardinal Manning puts it, 'which pays no taxes and gives no charity; laid up in secret and barren of all good to the owner or his neighbor.' The fiscal policy of our nation is not fashioned for such as these. It is broader, more rational, and more humane. The poor, and also the enterprising, must have some care and consideration. To them we must look for our prosperity. Upon their intelligence and welfare rest the permanence and purity of our institutions. They are

the strength and the pillars of the republic. . . . The tariff reformer has at last, in his wild ecstasy over a so-called victory, been betrayed into the avowal of his own design. He believes that poverty is a blessing to be promoted and encouraged, and that a shrinkage in the value of everything but money is a national benediction. He no longer conceals his love for cheap merchandise, even though it entails the beating down of the price of labor and curtails the comforts and opportunities of the masses. He has uncovered at last. He would make the cheapest articles of comfort and necessity dearer to the poor, for he would diminish the rewards of their labor."

Proceeding then to a discussion of the effects of the McKinley act, he closed by saying: "Campaign prices have already been convicted as campaign lies. New industries are being founded; others now established are enlarging their capacity. Idle mills are being started. The only menace to our advancement and prosperity, to our wage earners and farming interests, is the party which is pledged to the repeal of the new law and the substitution of the British system in its place."

McKinley was enthusiastically welcomed at New York April 10th, when he responded to the toast, The Tribune and the Cause of American Protection, at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the New York Tribune, at the Metropolitan Opera house. On Decoration Day he addressed the Canton Post, No. 25, G. A. R., at Canton, speaking particularly of the pensions and the public debt, and showing that the Republican party had paid off the greater part of the public debt left by the war, and reduced the annual interest to \$27,000,000, as against \$143,781,000

in 1867. It will be observed," he said, "that the two items of pensions and interest on the public debt in 1892 are less than the two items were in 1867. The government has almost extinguished its debt to the bondholders, stamped out every suggestion of repudiation of that debt, and it proposes now to keep faith with its other sacred creditors — the soldiers and sailors who saved the nation. The soldiers waited for their pensions, patiently waited, patriotically waited, while the government was struggling under the mighty burden of money debt incurred by the war. They stood firmly for the payment of that debt; they resisted every form of repudiation under any guise. They had saved the country in war; they helped to keep its financial honor free from stain in peace. The great war debt is almost paid. Who shall say that the other government obligation shall not be as sacredly kept? Pensions are less expensive than standing armies, and attest the gratitude of a free and generous people."

The moment McKinley's defeat for Congress in 1890 became known the Republican sentiment of Ohio unanimously sought him as the candidate for governor in the following year. When the subject was broached to McKinley, he said that he would feel highly honored by the nomination, yet he would enter into no contest for it. It was not necessary. Only one name was mentioned for the head of the ticket.

Before the convention met at Columbus there was a popular demand upon the Republican leaders to have the nomination take place by acclamation, in open air, on the east terrace of the State house, where, twenty-eight years before, gruff old John Brough had been nominated by

acclamation as the second war governor of the State. Senator Sherman, and in fact, all the Republicans, favored the idea, if it could be carried out. But it was found that the committee had no authority to call the convention in such a way, so it was held in the Grand Opera house, and was one of the most enthusiastic conventions Ohio ever held. Senator Sherman was chairman. Governor Foraker placed McKinley in nomination in one of his brilliant speeches, in which he said:

“ One man there is, who, measured by the exigencies of this occasion, stands a full head and shoulders above all his comrades, and that man is William McKinley. There are many reasons why he should be nominated. In the first place, everybody knows him. He does not need any introduction anywhere. Every Republican in Ohio not only knows him, but, what is better, every Republican in Ohio loves him. That is not all. Every Democrat in Ohio knows him, and every Democrat in Ohio fears him. His name is a household word throughout the nation and throughout the whole world. Wheresoever civilization exists, it has become known. In the next place, he is true and tried, and no experiment. He has been a long time in public service. He began thirty years ago. He started in with Abraham Lincoln. He commenced the 11th day of June, 1861, when he enlisted as a private in the Twenty-third Ohio. He began as a private, and, by bravery in many bloody battles, he came out as a major in his regiment when the last armed rebel had surrendered. No Republican candidate has ever suffered defeat through fault of William McKinley. There is not one single drop of cut-throat blood in his veins. He is morally incapable of the

treachery and cowardice of political assassination. He don't know what a political razor is, and has only contempt for the sneaking, hypocritical scoundrel who would use one."

McKinley accepted the nomination in one of his strong political speeches, saying that in the campaign they should avoid no issue, shirk no responsibility, run away from no party doctrine, apologize for no party measure of their own making, and should stand ready to defend their acts against assault from any quarter.

"We do not invoke our past record as our only warrant for the confidence of the people, although we turn to it with pride and satisfaction. There is not a page of it that we would obliterate if we could, nor is there a line which any lover of freedom or mankind would strike from its glorious pages."

He expressed his approval of the platform which stood squarely for protection and for maintaining the public credit by sound finance. "We have reached the point," he said, "where the ways part: one straight and honorable, the other crooked and beset with ills; the one leading away from the well-settled policy of the fathers which can end only in a revolution of values, the ruin of national and individual credits, and financial derangement generally; the other leading by a shining path to public safety and financial honor. Better risk defeat which can be only temporary than capitulate to the demagogue or surrender to dishonesty."

The Democrats were boasting that Ohio had become a Democratic State, and that William McKinley's public career had ended. Campbell had been elected governor two

years before by a plurality of over ten thousand, and he was again placed in nomination upon a platform which declared against protection, and expressed a demand for the free coinage of silver. McKinley did not at once open his campaign in person, but spoke in various sections of the country, delivering an admirable Fourth of July address at Woodstock, Conn., in which he said: "The future will take care of itself if we will do right."

It was on the 22d of August that McKinley made his opening speech in the gubernatorial campaign at Niles, his birthplace, and he made it from the little porch over the doorway to the house in which he was born, forty-eight years before, and there in front of the very windows, through which, as a babe, he had first seen the light of day, he reviewed the parade and addressed a large gathering of the people from the whole country around. In his speech he entered at once into a bold discussion of national and State issues.

"The Democratic platform," said he, "declares for the free and unlimited coinage of the silver of the world, to be coined as freely as gold is now, upon the same terms and under the existing ratio. The platform of the Republican party stands in opposition to anything short of a full and complete dollar. . . . The free and unlimited coinage of silver demanded by the Democratic convention recently held in Cleveland amounts to this, that all the silver in the world, from every quarter of the world, can be brought to the mints of the United States and coined at the expense of the government; that is, that the mints of the United States must receive $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of silver which is now worth but eighty cents the world over, and coin there-

for a silver dollar, which, by the fiat of the government, is to be received by the people of the United States, and to circulate among them as worth a full dollar of one hundred cents. . . . It does not take a wise man to see that if a dollar worth only eighty cents intrinsically, coined without limit, is made a legal tender to the amount of its face value, for the payment of all debts, public and private, a legal tender in all business transactions among the people, it will become in time the exclusive circulating medium of the country. Gold, which is 20 per cent. more valuable on every dollar, will not be paid out in any transactions in this country, when an eighty-cent silver dollar will answer the purpose. Nor will the greenback be long in returning to the treasury for redemption in gold. . . . The leading nations of the world would be glad to put us upon a silver basis. There is little doubt that Europe only withholds consent to an international ratio on account of her belief that we will inevitably go to silver. If she believed otherwise, she would not be slow to give consent. The nations which are on a silver basis alone are the poorest nations of the world, and are in constant financial disturbance and monetary disorder. The danger of free and unlimited coinage has been pointed out over and over again by leading statesmen of both political parties. . . . Governor Campbell declared that while he had his doubts about it he was willing to 'chance free and unlimited coinage of silver.' I am not willing to 'chance' it. Under present conditions the country cannot afford to chance it. We cannot gamble with anything so sacred as money, which is the standard and measure of all values. I can imagine nothing which would be more disturbing to our credit, and more

deranging to our commercial and financial affairs than to make this the dumping ground of the world's silver. . . . I am in favor of the double standard, but I am not in favor of a free and unlimited coinage of silver in the United States, until the nations of the world shall join us in guaranteeing to silver a status which their laws now accord to gold."

His discussion of the financial question was as pointed and as clear as were all his discussions on the question of protection, to which he had devoted so much special study. One of his noted addresses in the campaign was at Cincinnati, September 1st, upon the American Workingman. From another speech, which he delivered at about that time, the following truthful representation of the workings of the McKinley tariff is quoted:

"The principle upon which that bill was made permitted everything to come into this country free which we could not make or did not propose to make, except luxuries, and we put the tariff upon the foreign products that compete with the American products, to the end that we might encourage American production and American labor. And there is not a line of that law that is not American, there is not a page of it that is not patriotic, there is not a paragraph that is not dedicated to the American home. Why, they said prices were going up last fall. The campaign prevaricator had a wide range, and he played his part well. The law had been in operation but about three weeks, when the elections of last year took place. But the campaign prevaricator is out of business on that law now. As I said, it has been in operation twelve months. We never had so much domestic trade in any twelve months of our history. We never had as much foreign trade in any twelve months

since the beginning of the federal government as we have had since this bill has become a law. We never bought as much abroad in any twelve months in our history as we bought in the first twelve months of this law, largely because of the new free list, made under protection lines, in this law. We put everything on the free list that we could not produce ourselves. We have sold more abroad in these twelve months than in any twelve months since the administration of George Washington, and when Europe came to settle the balance of trade with us after the first twelve months of operation with us under that law, Europe paid to the United States \$99,000,000 in gold, representing the excess of what Europe bought of us over what we bought of Europe."

When the votes were counted election night it was found that McKinley had been elected governor over James E. Campbell by a plurality of over 20,000 votes. At the Republican jollification of the old Eighteenth Congressional District, at Canton, November 14th, just a year after the exciting times at the same place, when McKinley wrote his editorial, beginning "Protection was never stronger than at this hour," McKinley was enthusiastically received, and he was applauded now by some who had jeered at him in his defeat the year before.

The Democrats had found that McKinley was a hard man to kill.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONVENTION, CAMPAIGN, AND DEFEAT OF 1892 — FAITH STILL UNSHAKEN BY ADVERSITY.

McKinley Inaugurated as Governor — A Delegate at Large — McKinley Permanent Chairman of the Convention — Another Embarrassing Situation — Efforts to Use McKinley to Defeat Harrison — Foraker Announces Forty-four Votes for McKinley and Two for Harrison — Another Roll Call with the Same Result — McKinley Leaves the Chair and Moves to Make Harrison's Nomination Unanimous — Receives One Hundred and Eighty-two Votes under Protest — Campaign of Misrepresentation — McKinley Bill Maligned — People Vote for a Change — Republicans Waver — McKinley Exhorts them to be Firm — Only a Cross Current — The Republican Party Values its Principles no Less in Defeat than in Victory — A Prediction that Speedily Came True.

MCKINLEY was inaugurated Governor of Ohio on the 11th of January, 1892. In the opening paragraph of his address he said: "I approach the administration of the office with which I have been clothed by the people, deeply sensible of its responsibilities, and resolved to discharge its duties to the best of my ability. It is my desire to co-operate with you in every endeavor to secure a wise, economical, and honorable administration, and, so far as can be done, the improvement and elevation of the public service." It became proper and necessary for the Legislature, being the first after the taking of the new

federal census, to make a new apportionment of the State. The manner in which McKinley, who for ten years had suffered from gerrymandering, approached this subject in his inaugural, is worthy of notice as indicating the disposition and purpose of the man. He said, "You will be required under the new census to re-district the State for Representatives in Congress. This will afford you an opportunity to arrange the districts with fairness to all. Make the districts so fair in their relations to the political divisions of our people, that they will stand until a new census shall be taken. Make them so impartial that no future Legislature will dare disturb them until a new census, and until a new Congressional apportionment shall make a change imperative. Extreme partisanship in their arrangement should be avoided. There is a sense of fair play among the people which is prompt to condemn the flagrant misuse of party advantage at the expense of popular suffrage. Partisanship is not to be discouraged, but encouraged in all things where principle is at stake; but a partisanship which would take from the people their just representation in the case of the Congressional redistricting by the last Legislature, is an abuse of power which the people are swift to rebuke. . . . It will be your duty to enfranchise the citizens of Ohio who were disfranchised by the last legislative gerrymander, and to restore to the people their rightful voice in the national House of Representatives. Free suffrage is of little service to the citizen, if its force be defeated by legislative machinations in the form of a gerrymander. The districts should be made so as to give the party majority in a State a majority of Representatives in the national House of Representatives, and so arranged

that if the party majority shall change, the representative majority shall also change."

The new Governor showed a familiarity with the affairs and history of the State which was considered remarkable in view of the attention which he had always devoted to federal affairs. Shortly after the inauguration, the nation plunged into another exciting presidential campaign. Long before the Republican convention met at Minneapolis in 1892, McKinley expressed himself in favor of the re-nomination of President Harrison, feeling that this was the wish of the masses of his party. He was convinced of the wisdom and justice of the President's re-nomination, and was elected a delegate at large from Ohio, with the understanding that the Ohio vote should be solid for President Harrison.

McKinley was chosen permanent chairman of the convention. His speech was short and to the point: "Republican conventions," he said, "mean something. They have always meant something. Republican conventions say what they mean and mean what they say. They declare principles and policies and purposes, and when entrusted with power, execute and enforce them." He then made a brief review of Democratic attempts to reform the tariff, and of the character and purposes of the act of 1890.

At this convention, as in 1888, McKinley was placed in an extremely embarrassing and tempting position. Previous to the convention, an opposition to President Harrison had been developed by certain leaders. It was apparent that Blaine could not defeat Harrison, and that Republicans, including Platt of New York, Clarkson of Iowa, and Quay of Pennsylvania, fixed upon McKinley as a likely man to defeat Harrison, because they knew that in the conven-

tion there was a host of delegates, who, though for Harrison, were great admirers of McKinley. There was but one ballot. McKinley received votes from various States, and when Ohio was called, ex-Governor Foraker, who was leading the delegation, announced "Forty-four for McKinley, two for Harrison."

"I challenge the vote of Ohio," said McKinley from the chair, interrupting the call.

"The gentleman is not a member of the delegation at present," replied Foraker.

"I am a delegate from that State," cried McKinley, amid the confusion and uproar.

"The gentleman's alternate," said Foraker in reply, "has taken his place in the delegation, and the gentleman is not recognized as a member of the delegation now, and we make that point of order."

"The chair overrules the point of order, and asks the secretary to call the roll of Ohio, and I demand that my vote be counted," returned McKinley.

The roll was called and again resulted, "McKinley forty-four, Harrison two."

Mr. Alsdorf of the delegation announced that his vote was for Harrison, but he wished to have it changed to McKinley. Mr. Nevin, another delegate, said: "That there may be no mistake about it, I want to say that as the alternate of William McKinley, Jr., and at his request, I voted for Benjamin Harrison." The vote of the State then stood, McKinley forty-five, Harrison one. When the vote of Texas was announced, McKinley called Colonel Elliott F. Shepard of New York to the chair, and, taking the floor, moved that the nomination of Harrison be made unanimous.

Mr. Clarkson seconded the motion, but an objection was made because the roll call was in progress. McKinley then withdrew his motion, but when the roll call was completed renewed it, and the nomination was made unanimous. In spite of McKinley's protest, he received one hundred and eighty-two votes.

"Your turn will come in 1896," shouted one of the delegates who had voted for him, and it was a prophecy which has been fulfilled.

McKinley was also chosen chairman of the committee to officially notify the President of his re-nomination. This took place at the Executive Mansion in Washington on the 20th of June. "After one of the most careful, successful, and brilliant administrations in our history," said McKinley to the President, "you have received a renomination, an approval of your work, which must bring to you the keenest gratification. To be nominated for a second term upon the merits of his administration, is the highest distinction which can come to an American President. . . We beg to hand to you the platform of principles unanimously adopted by the convention, which places you in nomination. It is an American document. Protection, which shall serve the highest interests of American labor and American development; reciprocity, which, while seeking the world's market for our surplus products, shall not destroy American wages or surrender American markets for products which can be made at home; honest money, which shall rightly measure the labor and exchanges of the people and cheat nobody; honest elections, which are the true foundation of all public authority — these principles constitute for the most part the platform; principles to which you

have already by word and deed given your earnest approval, and of which you stand to-day the exponent and representative."

In the campaign of 1892, the Democrats adopted the same tactics they operated with success in 1890, maligning in every fashion possible the McKinley tariff law; leading people to believe that something was wrong, and inducing them to vote for a change. It was the misfortune of the McKinley act that it took effect at the opening of the presidential contest, and when labor troubles in Pennsylvania excited the public mind. McKinley entered into the campaign with zeal, and upon every occasion met these attacks with force and logic.

Speaking at the first National Convention of Republican Colleges at Ann Arbor, he said: "They say the tariff is a tax. That is a captivating cry. So it is a tax, but whether it is burdensome upon the American people depends upon who pays it. If we pay it, why should the foreigners object? Why all these objections in England, France, Germany, Canada, and Australia against the tariff law of 1890 if the American consumer bears the burdens and if the tariff is only added to the foreign cost which the American consumer pays? If they pay it, then we do not pay it; and if the increased tariff has not increased the price of commodities upon which the tariff has been advanced, then we know that we do not pay it. The price of wire nails in Pittsburg is 1.65 cents per pound; the tariff is two cents a pound. Who pays that tax? It is a fact which I would like to impress upon you and all of you that our exports during the last twelve months have increased 15.41 per cent. over the preceding twelve months, while British exports under

free trade decreased for the calendar year 1891, 5.6 per cent."

In his speech before the Nebraska Chautauqua Association at Beatrice, Neb., August 2, he refuted by facts and figures every argument Democratic stump speakers used against the McKinley law. The enemies of protection talked unceasingly about the burden, but would not particularize. "If there is anything," said McKinley, "that the free trader shrinks from, it is facts and conditions. They cannot designate the character of the injury which they so persistently allege follows the protective tariff. Everything around them contradicts their theories. Trade and business, wages and prices, all unite in destroying their arguments."

But, in spite of the facts and figures, the people voted for a change, and the result of the election fell with demoralizing and almost crushing weight upon the Republican party of the country. The people seemed to have repudiated the McKinley Law. There gathered about him in his hotel parlor in an eastern city at that time many of his party, some of them complaining; others timidly declaring that the McKinley Law did it, and a few seemed ready to turn their backs upon the party's record and principles. McKinley did not seek to evade the responsibilities of his position, but counseled courage and fortitude. The faith of the Covenanter within him did not waver. He was as brave as he had been two years before when he said "protection was never stronger" than at that hour. He listened to the complaints and the expressions of doubt calmly and patiently. Then he said, "My friends, be firm. This is only a cross current; only a chop sea. The tide of truth

flows steadily on beneath;" and these men went away stronger, inspired by the faith that was in the man and understanding more fully some of the qualities that made him a power among men.

In response to a toast, "The Republican Party," at the Lincoln Banquet of the Ohio Republican League at Columbus soon after the defeat, and shortly before the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland, he began in this way:

"The Republican party values its principles no less in defeat than in victory. It holds to them after a reverse, as before, because it believes in them; and believing in them, is ready to battle for them. They are not espoused for mere policy, nor to serve in a single contest. They are set deep and strong in the hearts of the party, and are interwoven with its struggles, its life and its history. Without discouragement, our great party reaffirms its allegiance to Republican doctrine, and with unshaken confidence seeks again the public judgment through public discussion. The defeat of 1892 has not made Republican principles less true nor our faith in their ultimate triumph less firm. The party accepts with true American spirit the popular verdict, and, challenging the interpretation put upon it by our political opponents, takes an appeal to the people, whose court is always open, and whose right of review is never questioned."

Further on he said: "What our political enemies may do, is no measure of our duty. Whatever they may do, or fail to do, our course is plain. Whether they keep faith or break it, let us keep ours unsullied and in honor. We must stand for Republican doctrines, and for every one of them. The best our opponents can do will be bad enough; little or

much, it will unsettle business and force industrial changes. Even inaction will produce anxious suspense, which will shake confidence." This was a plain prediction of the disturbance and panic following quickly after Mr. Cleveland's inauguration, and a prediction which showed the ground for his belief in the ultimate triumph of his principles.

"In a few days," he continued, "the country passes into the control of the Democratic party, in a condition of matchless prosperity in every department of industry. We do not leave them a legacy of hard times, idle industries, unproductive enterprises, and unemployed labor. We turn over to them a country blessed with unprecedented activity in every avenue of human employment, with labor in active demand and better paid than in all our history before; a government with unparalleled resources and credit, and with no stain upon its honor."

CHAPTER XXIII.

McKINLEY AS GOVERNOR — EXCITING TIMES IN OHIO — TWO ACTIVE AND EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATIONS.

A Popular Executive Officer — Securing the Best Men for State Institutions — The State Board of Arbitration — Governor McKinley's Part in its Formation — Its Valuable Services — Exciting Times in the Second Administration — Upholding the Dignity and the Laws of the State without exciting the Hostility of the Laboring Classes — Lynching not to be Tolerated in Ohio — The Dark Year of 1894 — Distress among the Miners — Appeals to the Governor for Help — A Midnight Despatch and a Carload of Provisions — He Assumes the Responsibility for Payment — Investigation into the Distress in Mining Districts — Intelligent Distribution of Supplies — Several Serious Labor Difficulties — Counseling Arbitration — Settling Disputes without Expense to the State and without a Breach of Law — The Governor Constantly at his Post.

HAVING related some of the national events of importance with which McKinley was concerned immediately following his inauguration as governor, we will now return to a brief review of his administration. He was a popular and efficient executive officer, popular not simply with his political friends, but highly esteemed by his political enemies. While he is, as he claims, an "offensive Republican," when principles are at stake, he is anything but a bigoted partisan in the management of the details of an administrative position. He won the affection

of subordinate State officials associated with him, and secured the cordial co-operation of the General Assembly in matters of State concern. His aim was to give the institutions of the State the services of the best men he could find, and to prevent inefficiency and demoralization through the introduction of blind partisanship.

His first administration passed off quietly, but, nevertheless, much was accomplished. In his first message he called attention to the problem of taxation in Ohio, and to the need of applying certain remedies for inequalities and injustices that had crept into the system. He recommended legislation for the safety and comfort of steam railroad employes, drew attention to the development of electric railways, and urged that the Legislature should enact suitable requirements for the safety of both employes and the traveling public. In more ways than one he showed that he was interested in the problems of ameliorating the conditions of labor, and he early set about to secure in Ohio a law providing for a State Board of Arbitration. We have already seen that when the question of arbitration was up in Congress, he had strongly supported the measure, and said that he believed in arbitration, not only between individuals, but also between nations. The Legislature took up the subject and passed a law, substantially that of Massachusetts, by which arbitration was authorized and favored, not compelled, and made free of expense to the parties. The parties retained the right to select their own arbitrators if they desired, and thorough and impartial investigation was made into the causes of strikes, and whenever disagreements continued after awards or investigations, the facts were published.

In his second administration, which was more stormy, because of the hard times which prevailed while Congress was engaged in repealing the McKinley Act, and because of serious labor troubles that occurred in various sections of the State, this Board of Arbitration became of great service. The governor made the board non-partisan, though not so required by statute, and during his administration it was called into service in twenty-eight different strikes, involving many thousand employes. Fifteen of these were settled through the efforts of the board, and the others by the parties themselves. Where the parties to a controversy agreed to abide by the award of the board, they never failed to do so.

In June, 1894, soon after his second inauguration, the miners' strike, involving every mining district in Ohio, occurred, causing many outbreaks among the turbulent elements. Trains upon coal-carrying railroads were stopped, and excited strikers otherwise interfered with property rights, so that the moment a call was made upon the State for help, Governor McKinley ordered out the whole of the Ohio National Guard. They were called into service, a regiment at a time, but the disturbances continuing, nearly every soldier was called to duty, and they were in active service about three weeks. In this serious business, McKinley acted as commander-in-chief, managing the troops with a vigor which indicated that he meant to uphold the good name of the State by force if necessary, but by milder means if possible. He inspired the troops with a sense of their responsibility, to avoid anything that should look like injustice against the disturbers; and the intervention did not arouse that hostility among the laboring classes

which it usually does. The Governor was himself constantly at his post. It is said that he seldom retired during those sixteen days until 4 o'clock in the morning. He took direct charge of the movements and of the arrangements for the health and comfort of the men. When he heard that the Lorain & Wheeling Railroad had announced a change of its program and would not suspend traffic on its road on Sunday, June 10th, he immediately sent a letter to Adjutant-General Howe, asking a reason for this change of purpose, saying that rest to the National Guard and their health were of the highest importance; that he hoped peace would not be broken on Sunday, and that he should deeply regret to learn of any conflict being brought on that day which was not absolutely necessary to the preservation of the peace and protection to property in aid of the civil authority.

In October there was another demand for militia on account of an outbreak among the people of Washington, Fayette county, over the commission of a heinous crime. The prisoner, who had been apprehended and brought there for trial, was promptly indicted, tried, sentenced, and received the full limit of the law; but, while justice seemed to be swift and sure, it did not suit the mob, which was determined to lynch the man. In the struggle which followed three people were killed, and a court of inquiry was instituted to inquire into the conduct of Colonel Coit, who was in command of the military; but he was exonerated, McKinley giving the exoneration his endorsement.

"Lynching," he said, "cannot be tolerated in Ohio. The law of the State must be supreme over all, and the agents of the law, acting within the law, must be sustained."

He found that Colonel Coit and his men acted with prudence and judgment, and within the law, in supporting the civil authority of the county, performing their duty with singular fidelity, upholding the majesty of the law, though at a fearful cost.

A year later, a similar attempt was made to lynch a prisoner in the custody of the sheriff at Tiffin, Seneca county. The sheriff and his deputies did their best, but were compelled to appeal to the governor for help; and, with a promptness that showed the most perfect discipline, four companies, from as many cities, were at once sent to the scene of the trouble. Governor McKinley's promptness and thoroughness in dealing with these matters elicited the warmest praise, not only in Ohio, but in all sections of the country. He was given the credit which he deserved of being alive to the interests and dignity of the State in these troublous times, and of being determined to stop all such disturbances at the very beginning, before they had spread and led to serious results. During the first year of McKinley's second administration no less than fifteen calls were made upon the State government for military aid in upholding the law, and there were several occasions in the year following.

But while promptness and severity characterized McKinley's administration in his treatment of violations of the law during those times of depression and of desperate acts, there was another and a merciful side to his conduct of affairs. In January, 1895, the Trades Labor Union of the Hocking Valley mining district met to organize and form some plan for the relief of distress and destitution among the unemployed miners and their families. During

the discussion a committee was appointed to wait upon the governor, and to present to him a memorial which they had adopted. They did so, and explained the condition of the miners and their families, and the necessity for prompt relief. The governor advised that a committee return, and request the mayor of Nelsonville to call a meeting of the citizens to consider the question of relief, and he would take immediate steps to carry out their wishes. Such a meeting was called, and the action of the committee ratified, and McKinley was accordingly informed. At midnight he was aroused by a messenger with a despatch from the chairman of the committee, which said: "Immediate relief needed." The governor at once despatched messengers to different stores for groceries, vegetables, etc., and sent for the officials of the Lackawanna Valley Railroad Company, requesting them to come immediately to his rooms to arrange for a car and the shipment of a load of provisions the next morning. These arrangements were all carried out, and within nine hours after he received the message, the provisions were in Nelsonville ready for distribution.

The Governor had assumed the responsibility for payment of the provisions, and it was not his purpose to ask the people to provide for the payment; but his friends, learning of the obligation he had assumed, at once secured a large part of the amount, which, added to his own subscription, paid the bill. Five days later another despatch came to McKinley saying that 1,763 miners were out of employment and in great distress, in at least four different localities to which supplies would have to be sent or intense suffering would prevail. He authorized purchases of supplies for

each of the mining districts, and shipments were made upon the first trains out of Columbus. Two days later another appeal came from other localities, and the calls for help came almost daily up to the 4th of April, when the last shipment of provisions was made. At the Governor's instance committees were appointed to visit these mining districts, ascertain the real situation, and report plans for an intelligent and judicious distribution of supplies. He enlisted also the boards of trade and the chambers of commerce in the larger cities to investigate the condition of the mining districts. During that brief period of distress nearly 3,000 miners were out of employment, representing a population of probably 10,000, and the total expenditure for their relief amounted to nearly \$33,000.

In all this work Governor McKinley took not only an active interest, but the leading part. On one occasion, when he was called away from Columbus, he left instructions that if appeals should be made for relief, every demand should be met and that no one should be allowed to go hungry. By this constant oversight of the poor people in the mining districts of Ohio much hunger and suffering was prevented. It speaks highly for Governor McKinley's management of affairs that, in the dark days of that year, when thousands of miners were unemployed, the peace of the State was rigidly maintained, and to a large degree this may have been due to the operations of the efficient Board of Arbitration, which had been provided in his first administration. There were some labor troubles, but neither the militia nor the police had to be called out on account of any strike or dispute with which the Board of Arbitration had anything to do. Many times feeling ran

high, and the board, upon reaching the scene of a dispute, would find much apprehension of outbreaks, and in at least two instances applications had already been made to the Governor for aid to prevent them. It was Governor McKinley's unfailing custom to recommend delegations from disputants to submit their differences to arbitrators if they could not settle them themselves, and, in most instances, his arguments were listened to and his advice taken. In one miners' strike in the Massillon district, where all efforts at settlement had failed, he succeeded in bringing the parties to agree to arbitration, and a settlement was arranged after 2,000 miners had been idle for eight months, and a loss in wages and business aggregating at least a million of dollars had been incurred. If this strike had been allowed to proceed much longer after the hope of reaching a settlement between the parties had seemed to disappear, it is probable that violence and malicious destruction of property would have resulted.

At another time, in 1894, a certain employer of a large number of men, then on strike, called on the governor and asked him what he would do in a certain contingency about ordering out the militia.

"It is needless to ask what a public officer in Ohio will do; he does his duty. The practical question is, What can you do? What will your employes do? What can we all do properly to divert the necessity of using force? That is the question for immediate solution at which I have been engaged for some days."

The result was that a meeting was held the next day at the governor's office at his instance. It was attended by the employer, the State Board of Arbitration, which had

already been looking into the case, and a delegation of citizens and business men concerned. He presided over the meeting, plans were perfected, and the Board of Arbitration immediately despatched to arrange matters. Before the governor went to bed that night, a despatch from the scene of the strike informed him that the trouble was at an end, without any expense to the State, and without a single breach of the peace.

By the energy and the tact which he used in bringing the State Board of Arbitration into service in a time when labor troubles were so frequent, he succeeded in inaugurating a policy which has had much to do in relieving the State of continued labor troubles and their dangers.

While these exacting duties were being performed, Governor McKinley was also required to attend to the regular affairs of his office, and, as will appear later, he was called into campaign service in many places in the country. His powers of endurance, his ability to turn off work, the thoroughness with which he entered into all problems before him, were as conspicuous in his administration as governor as they had been in his services as Congressman and as a leader of his party on the floor of the House.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PERSONAL REVERSES—DEVOTION AND SELF-SACRIFICE OF MRS. McKINLEY—THE MAN OF THE NATION.

A Thunder Clap from a Clear Sky — McKinley is Found to be an Endorser on Notes of an Old Friend to the Extent of over One Hundred Thousand Dollars — Turns over all his Property — Mrs. McKinley Contributes her Fortune — "My Husband's Debts are Mine" — Contributions come in from the People — McKinley Returns them — The Final Settlement — Every Creditor Paid in Full where McKinley was Liable — His Re-nomination by Acclamation for Governor — The Democratic Opponent — A Warm Campaign — McKinley Re-elected by over Eighty Thousand Plurality — His Trip to Chicago — Speech at the Reunion of the Army of Tennessee — Ohio Day — McKinley Rides his Famous Horse, "Midnight," in the Parade — Received by Cheers Everywhere — People Crowd around to Grasp his Hands — "Our Next President."

WHILE McKinley was devoting himself to the duties of his office with an energy seldom seen in executives, other events of wider significance were continually transpiring. It is difficult to condense into a few words the life of McKinley in those four years — there was so much of it, and so much to it. The swiftly running current of events was making him more and more the man of the nation. Before entering upon the narrative of McKinley's wonderful campaigns, it is necessary to touch briefly upon an affair relating to his own private for-

tunes, which occurred in February, 1893, when he was encouraging Republicans to stand by their colors, assuring them that the reverses were but a cross current; that the Republican party valued its principles not less in defeat than in victory.

One day when he was preparing to take a train to fill an engagement as speaker, the information was brought to him that Mr. Walker, a banker and business man whose credit and financial standing had long been considered unquestionable in Ohio, had failed, and that his name was on Walker's notes aggregating more than \$60,000. Mr. Walker was an old friend of McKinley. When the latter first entered upon his legal career at Canton, Walker had assisted him; and McKinley never forgot those who had befriended him.

A short time previous to the failure, Walker had come to McKinley to secure his endorsement of notes, saying that he needed some ready money. McKinley signed them without question, glad of an opportunity to aid his old friend, and not doubting for a moment his financial soundness. The news of the failure, therefore, and of the fact that his name was on notes aggregating three times his personal fortune, came like a thunder clap from a clear sky.

Mr. McKinley had been led to suppose, in endorsing some of these notes, that they were to take up notes which he had previously endorsed, and had no idea that obligations for which he was liable as the endorser were floating about to any such extent. Little by little the amount grew until it was discovered that his liability footed up about \$118,000.

Democratic papers in the country at once raised the cry that the affair showed McKinley's lack of business knowl-

edge, but those who knew the circumstances knew the falsity of such a charge, and the people were not slow in recognizing the malice of it. McKinley at once notified his creditors that his entire property was at their disposal for settling the obligations he had incurred. By economy and wise investments, he had succeeded in acquiring a property valued at about \$20,000, in spite of the demands upon the Congressional salary by life at Washington, and by his campaigns. Mrs. McKinley also came forward and said that "her husband's misfortunes were hers; that his debts were hers," and insisted upon turning over all of her property, — most of which she had inherited — amounting to over \$75,000. "Let every creditor be paid in full," she said.

The manly way in which McKinley met these reverses; the evidences of self-sacrifice and devotion upon Mrs. McKinley's part deeply touched the people of the country. Letters to Governor McKinley began to pour in, with offers of assistance. They came from all classes of people. One of them read: "I have one hundred dollars, and enclose five dollars. You have worked too long and well for your country to suffer this misfortune alone." They came from people whom he had never seen or heard of, but he regularly returned the money, thanking them for their kindness and for their sympathy.

But many letters came enclosing money with no signatures or any indication of whence they came and it became a question what to do with them. McKinley was finally prevailed upon to turn over his property and his obligations to trustees, among whom were some of his staunch friends in the State, and some of its ablest business men.

No one but the trustees knew where the money came

from. McKinley never knew, but it was not long before every holder of notes bearing McKinley's endorsement, was paid in full; then the trustees went to the governor and his wife and told them that their property was all intact and had not been touched. They were reluctant to accept such a settlement, but the trustees told them that the affair was their own. Only the creditors protected by McKinley's endorsement were paid in full. This incident is valuable, not so much because of its effect upon McKinley's life, as illustrating the man and as illustrating the spirit and devotion of his wife.

Shortly after that occurrence, the Republican State convention to nominate a State ticket was held, and McKinley was re-nominated by acclamation, upon a platform which said "The people of Ohio have a just pride in the administration of the affairs of this State by Governor William McKinley, Jr. He brought to the discharge of his duties as governor, great learning, ability and statesmanship, and an honest and patriotic purpose, and he has always shown himself capable, faithful, and wise. We heartily endorse his administration and assure him of our great esteem and confidence."

It was about this time, owing to the steady depletion of the gold reserve and the rapid curtailment of business that a feeling of distrust and panic spread throughout the country, and a few days later President Cleveland called Congress in special session, informing it of the existence of "an alarming and extraordinary business situation." He said, "With plenteous crops, with cheering promise of remunerative production and manufacture; with unusual invitation to safe investments, and with safe assurance to business en-

terprises, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side." It was not so sudden as President Cleveland declared. It had been coming on ever since the surprising election of Mr. Cleveland in 1892, and the discovery that both branches of Congress would be Democratic. The people of the country began again to look to McKinley as the man who had told them the truth in his remarkable tariff speeches of the previous campaign. He saw the trouble coming, and waited quietly for the culmination. His faith in protection was such that he knew a change in feeling must come.

It was during those panicky times that the State campaign of Ohio was carried on, McKinley's Democratic opponent being L. T. Neal, who was credited with writing the plank in the Chicago platform which denounced "Republican protection as a humbug and reciprocity a sham." He attempted to ward off the force of the panic by saying, "We still have the McKinley tariff." "Yes," said McKinley, in one of his opening speeches; "but you are pledged to repeal it, and the man who receives notice that his house is about to be demolished, does not wait until the dynamite is put in, but moves out his furniture as soon as he can. Now what will start your factories?" A voice from the audience yelled out "One hundred thousand for McKinley in November." Great applause and confusion followed, and McKinley was unable to proceed for a time. When in November the votes were counted, it was found that he had been elected by the largest vote ever known in Ohio up to that time, and by a remarkable plurality of 80,995.

It was on September 14th, in the very heat of his State

campaign that "Ohio Day" at the Chicago Fair occurred. From the time he entered the city of Chicago, until he left it, he was busy either making speeches or receiving the acclamations of the people. He had little time for sleep.

The night before "Ohio Day," occurred the Twenty-fifth Annual Banquet of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, one of the most notable social gatherings of old comrades that has been held. The banquet was at the Palmer House, and Governor McKinley was a guest of honor. When he arose to speak to the toast "The Volunteers," the whole assembly rose too, and there was cheering and waving of handkerchiefs for several moments. When there was a lull, a gentleman asked for "a cheer for the next President," and the ovation was continued with increasing enthusiasm. It was a scene to impress a man, proud of his association with the volunteers of the war, and he made one of the best short speeches of his life. It filled the soldiers with enthusiasm. "My comrades," he said, "you can hardly conceive that thirty-two years ago a million men from the American home, the American schoolhouse, the American farm and factory sprang to arms, willing to die. For what? For the race of man. Some things are so priceless and some things so good that nations which buy them pay for them in blood.

"It is said that a colonel of a Connecticut regiment, in presenting the stars and stripes to the color sergeant, made to him this speech: 'Color-bearer, take this flag. Fight for it, die for it, but never yield it into the hands of the enemy.' The color sergeant, a lad of eighteen years, with the ruddy fire of warm blood coursing through his veins, answered: 'Colonel, I'll bring back that flag to you with

honor, or report to God the reason why.' Within a week that color sergeant fell, and the stars and stripes fell upon his breast. He did not take it back, but God Almighty knew the reason why. He gave the best he had — his own heart's blood to save it.

"Another instance, as demonstrating the valor of the rank and file of the army, is related at that awful palisade at Andersonville. Thirty thousand Union soldiers lay weltering under the hot July sun. A private soldier lay on a pallet of death. Some Confederate officers entered the prison and announced that liberty was to be given to every one of them who would renounce allegiance to the United States and enlist under the banner of the Confederacy. Raising himself up upon his weakened arms — for the word liberty suggested to him family, mother, wife, and children — he asked that the message might be repeated. When he heard its conditions the dying soldier lay himself back and requested a comrade to take a package from his pocket. He opened it, and took out a little flag, our stars and stripes. Putting it to his lips, he said: 'I can die for this flag, but I can never fight against it.'

"Tell me the volunteer army of the United States enlisted for any other purpose but the purest patriotism! They may take away from us everything else, but they cannot rob us of our patriotism. We love the flag, and will serve the country, and die for the faith that is within us. But, no matter what treatment we may receive from anybody's hands, we have no bitterness; we would revive no passions of the war. They are gone by. We have had all the war we want. One thing we must do, and all soldiers must do: that is to insist that the settlements of the war stand as an

irresistible judgment of history — the inalienable decree of a nation of freedom.”

The “Ohio Day” at the fair was one of the most memorable events of the great Exposition. It opened with a parade of Ohio troops, entering the ground through the Midway Plaisance. Governor McKinley rode his famous black horse “Midnight” and was accompanied by his staff on horseback. The incident of the occasion, as the Chicago papers said the next morning, was the enthusiastic manner in which Governor McKinley was hailed and greeted by citizens of all states as well as native Ohioans. At every stage of the day’s proceedings he was most heartily cheered, and at times referred to by enthusiastic admirers as “our next President.” Amid these exciting scenes the Governor carried himself with dignity and courtesy, bowing his recognition of the attention he received.

During military parade in the morning, while mounted on horseback, he was more than once compelled to halt on account of the crowds which closed in around him, and which insisted on grasping him by the hand. At the State building, the enthusiasm toward the Governor was remarkable.

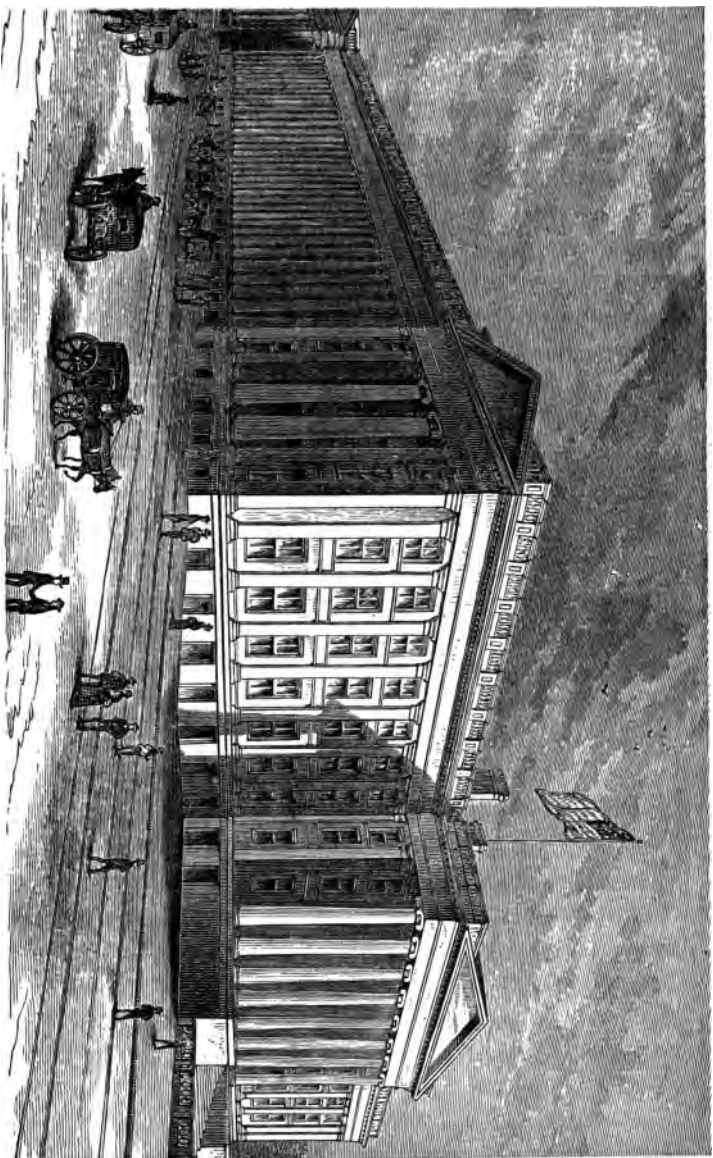
In the afternoon, when he went with his staff to ring the liberty bell in front of the administration building, the crowds surged around him, and cheered for a long time. At the Ohio building, Governor McKinley made another long speech, with Ohio as his theme. The Chicago papers were not so far out of the way when they called the “Ohio Day” the “McKinley Day.”

CHAPTER XXV.

McKINLEY AS A CAMPAIGNER — HIS REMARKABLE TRIP IN THE FALL OF 1894 — "PROTECTION" HIS BATTLE-CRY.

Always in Demand as a Campaign Speaker — After the Panic of 1893 — Overwhelmed with Invitations from all Sections — Wonderful Enthusiasm of his Audiences — A Flying Trip to Chicago — Speaking to an Indiana Crowd of Two Thousand from a Car Platform with the Thermometer below Zero — Addresses the Students of Chicago University — Speaking at the Auditorium — Eulogies of Washington and Lincoln — The Fall Campaign — Speeches in Nineteen Different States — One Hundred and Fifty Thousand People Hear him in Two Days in Kansas — Speaking Seventeen Times in One Day — Addressing the Working-men before Breakfast — His Journey of over Two Thousand Miles to New Orleans to Make One Speech — His Reception by the Southerners — Men and Women Jump upon the Platform to Shake Him by the Hand — His Trip to the Coal Region of West Virginia — Makes Three Hundred and Seventy-one Speeches in Seven Weeks — Returns in Good Health.

G OVERNOR McKINLEY was from the very beginning of his Congressional career in great demand as a campaign speaker, but never was that demand so great as in the year 1894. The panic subsided in the latter part of 1893, but an era of depression in business followed. The winter was one of suffering and distress everywhere among the working classes. The question of organ-



THE UNITED STATES TREASURY BUILDING, WASHINGTON.

ized relief forced itself upon every State. The Democratic organs predicted immediate recovery after the repeal of the "silver purchase act," but the gloom only settled deeper over the industries of the country. The administration and its approved agents in Congress were secretly at work upon "tariff reform" and business men everywhere hastened under cover. All industry, except for immediate needs, practically stopped, and an army of unemployed were thrown upon the charity of the more fortunate.

To the great protectionist leader all eyes now turned. Back to the Republican party, as McKinley's plurality of 80,000 had demonstrated, were flocking the now undeceived voters of the country. They saw in him a man whose predictions — every one of them — had come true, whose advice had been sound, and whose counsel they had rejected to their sorrow. They saw him in his true light, the faithful friend of the laboring, industrial, and financial interests of the country. The Ohio Republican State committee was overwhelmed with demands for McKinley, not simply from every county in Ohio, but from thousands of places in almost every State in the Union. It was a physical impossibility for one man to meet more than a small fraction of the demands that were made upon his time.

In February he went to Pennsylvania to assist his old friend, Galusha A. Grow, in his candidacy for Congressman at large, and on the 15th he addressed the largest political mass meeting ever held in Pittsburg. The following description of his reception there, taken from the Pittsburg Times of the next morning, will indicate the character of the ovation he received, not simply there, but wherever he went during that year.

“ When the great protectionist arose on the stage, the four thousand people in the building arose also, and a more cordial greeting was never tendered a speaker. Cheer after cheer, long and loud, rolled like contending waves over the greatest audience ever assembled in the historic hall. All the while the famous Republican warrior stood watching the extraordinary outburst. In front of him, as far as he could see, in the rear of him, and on every side of him, his admirers stood waving their hats and handkerchiefs, and shouting a welcome that seemed strong enough to live forever. There seemed no end to the applause. There were no bounds to the enthusiasm. Again and again the cheering was renewed, and each outburst was stronger than the other. Finally the people climbed upon their chairs, and with one mighty effort united their voices in three cheers for ‘McKinley our next President.’ Then they gave three cheers more, and finally yielded to the speaker.”

After a reference to the coming election in Pennsylvania, he said: “What do we want -- all of us? Prosperity. How can we get it? The way to begin to get it, is to defeat the party which destroyed it. The way to resume prosperity is to resume power, and that, I take it, is what you intend the Republican party shall begin to do here and now.”

At the close of a discussion of the character of the Wilson bill, which had then been introduced, he said:

“The Democratic free-traders are also always talking about relief to the people. The only relief they have brought thus far is relief from labor. How do you like that kind of relief? They have created another phase of relief — the relief committee — a free trade committee.”

After the meeting, Governor McKinley was lifted from the stage and carried by a number of his admirers through a part of the crowded hall.

Two days later he arrived at New York with Mrs. McKinley, and in the evening was the guest of honor and the principal speaker at the ninth annual banquet of the Ohio Society of New York, at which he spoke of Ohio and her Sons. Thence he hurried to Chicago, where he was to be the guest of honor in the exercises arranged for Washington's birthday, under the auspices of the Union League Club. The train made few stops, but at every station the news that Ohio's governor was on board had preceded it, and large crowds were awaiting him. At Elkhart, Indiana, a ten-minute stop was made to change engines. A thousand people at once gathered around the car, and loud calls were made for the governor. Though the thermometer was below zero, Major McKinley finally responded. Shouts of "Here's our next President," greeted him when he stepped to the car platform. He made a few remarks, and when the train started, "Three cheers for our next President" went up from a dozen places. A train from Michigan had just pulled in alongside the governor's car. Its passengers rushed out on the platform and joined in the cheering.

The next day was a busy one for McKinley, and yet a sample of many days that year. In the forenoon President Harper of the University of Chicago called and asked him to speak to the students. He did so cheerfully. In the afternoon he delivered a magnificent tribute to Washington, to an audience that crowded the mammoth Auditorium from pit to dome. In the evening he was the guest of

honor at the banquet given by the Union League Club. On all these occasions no one received the attention or the applause accorded to McKinley, and Democrats as well as Republicans joined in the ovations. When introduced at the banquet, he said:

"I have been striving through the entire evening to secure for myself protection against another speech. Having engaged your attention at such great length to-day, I thought I might well be excused from further duty in that direction to-night [no, no], but the president of your club has put a duty upon me [laughter], and it is a specific duty, for if it were an *ad valorem* I could swear out of it [laughter]; it would have the necessary elasticity."

Turning his attention then to the heroes of the country, he paid some glowing tributes to Washington, Lincoln, and Grant. Of Lincoln he said:

"No grander man ever lived; no greater character ever appeared in American politics; no man ever did more for union, and for liberty, and for civilization, and for the elevation of mankind than that simple citizen with no opulent surroundings while he was President of this great republic.

"There is one thing that has always impressed me, not only in the character of Washington, but in the character of Lincoln, and in that respect they are much alike. They always showed a sublime reliance upon an overruling providence. Read the messages of General Washington; read his great public proclamations; read what he wrote in war or in peace, and you will always find a recognition of that Divine providence that controls the affairs of nations as well as the affairs of men.

“And so with the great liberator, Abraham Lincoln. It is said of him that after the battle of Gettysburg, when General Sickles, wounded almost to death, was brought to the city of Washington, Lincoln was his first visitor at his quarters on F street. He called, and after making anxious inquiries about the personal condition of General Sickles, then inquired of him about the battle of Gettysburg.

“General Sickles went into all of its details, and when Mr. Lincoln had finished his inquiries, the general turned to him and said: ‘President Lincoln, what do you think of Gettysburg.’ President Lincoln said: ‘I had very little thought about Gettysburg.’

“‘Why, that is strange,’ said General Sickles, ‘I understood there was consternation in the city of Washington when Lee went over into Pennsylvania.’ Mr. Lincoln said: ‘So there was, and Stanton and Welles put some of the most important archives of the government upon the gunboats, and they wanted me to go there for safety, but I declined. I said I had no fear about Gettysburg.’

“‘Well,’ General Sickles said, ‘how is that, Mr. Lincoln?’ ‘Well,’ said he, ‘I will tell you, if you will never tell anybody. Before the battle of Gettysburg, I went into my little room at the White House, and I got down on my knees, and I prayed to God as I never prayed before. I told Him that this was His country, that this was His war, that we could not stand any more Chancellorsvilles or any more Fredericksburgs, and if He would stand by me, I would stand by Him. And He did, and I will. And from that hour,’ said the immortal Lincoln, ‘I had no fear about Gettysburg.’”

Returning to his official duties at Columbus, for a few

days, we find McKinley on the 28th of March in Minneapolis in attendance at the convention of the State Republican League. Not since the Republican National convention of two years before had the West Hotel lobby been so compactly filled, as when Governor McKinley, standing upon the second landing of the marble stairway, soon after his arrival, looked over the throng. The standing capacity of the lobby is estimated at four thousand; there was hardly room for another person in it. He was introduced, and made a short speech. Another speech was demanded of him at the convention, and in the evening he was introduced to six thousand people at the Exposition hall, where he gave a long discussion of the political issues of the day.

But it was in the fall of that year, after a very wearisome summer, devoted, as we have already seen, to the relief of distressed miners in Ohio, that he made what is probably the most remarkable campaign tour that has ever been seen in this country. It is perhaps without a parallel in the history of campaigning anywhere in the world. He was heard, raising aloft the banner of protection, in nineteen different States, addressing at least a score of meetings in each State, and no one can estimate the number of people who heard him on that trip alone. Some idea of the enthusiasm shown may be gained from the fact that during his two days in Kansas, it is estimated that 150,000 people heard him. From Council Bluffs to Des Moines he spoke at every station, and 60,000 people in all gathered at the various places. Altogether, Governor McKinley made 371 addresses, at least a third of them being lengthy ones, and on one day he was led into speaking seventeen times. In this tour it should be borne in mind that the official func-

tion was entirely absent. It was entirely different from the trips made by Presidents Cleveland and Harrison. The rush to see him and hear him was caused by the wish to see and to hear and to honor the greatest exponent of protection, at the hour when protection appealed strongly to the hearts of the people.

Samuel G. McClure, who was with McKinley a part of those seven weeks, says: "The combined tours far exceeded a distance half around the world. It was one of the marvels of the man that he was able to undergo all the fatigue which this immense feat implies, and yet close the campaign in as good health as when he began, and without having lost a pound of weight. Very often he was the last of the little party to retire, and almost invariably he was the first to rise. He seemed tireless. Every State committee in the Mississippi valley, and beyond it, apparently took it for granted that the gallant champion of patriotism, protection, and prosperity could not be overworked. When he consented to make one speech for them, they forthwith arranged half a dozen short stops en route, and kept him talking almost constantly from daybreak until late at night. He agreed to make forty-six set speeches in all during the campaign; when he had concluded, he had not only made them, but he had spoken at no less than three hundred and twenty-five other points as well. . . . On several occasions, as the special train was hurrying him along, he was called out for a talk before he had breakfasted, and would find, to his surprise, that one, two, or three thousand persons had gathered at that early hour to see and hear him. It was not McKinley who sought all this. It was the people who sought McKinley.

On September 5th, he spoke at ten places in Indiana; October 1st, at St. Louis; the 2d at Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas; the 3d, at twelve places in Kansas; the 4th, at seven places in Kansas, and six in Nebraska; the 5th, at thirteen places in Iowa; the 6th, at thirteen places in Iowa, and eight places in Minnesota; the 8th, at Duluth, Minnesota, and at Superior, Wisconsin; the 9th, at fifteen places in Wisconsin; the 10th, at fifteen places in Illinois.

The outpouring of people at Hutchinson, Kansas, eclipsed anything that McKinley had ever seen. The visitors began to arrive in the city the night before. Crowded specials were run on some of the railroads. McKinley's train reached Hutchinson at 3:45 p. m., and such was the crowd that it was considered unsafe to try to take him from the train at the station, so a stop was made half a mile out, where the party was met with carriages. But the crowd was upon him instantly — men, women, and children, caring nothing for the plunging horses nor the protests of the policemen. The McKinley carriage was surrounded, and cut off from the others. The bands tried to play, but were lost and scattered in the crowd, and the people climbed up over the driver, on to the steps and the hubs of the turning wheels, even over the back of the carriage, to grasp the hand of McKinley. The crowd, laughing, assured him there was no danger, as the horses had no room to run away in, and McKinley laughed and reached out both his hands, which were passed from one to another of the enthusiastic Kansans. As the procession moved up the street, it was filled from curb to curb with men, women, and children, carriages and wagons of all descriptions. The facetious correspondents claimed that they were tired of es-

timating the number in the crowd, and they proposed thereafter to compute them by acres. Thirty-six hours was McKinley west of the Missouri river, and only six of those did he have to himself, when he could be free from making speeches, shaking hands, and talking to those who came on the train to meet him.

Blaine in his early days was a great campaigner, but he was always very careful and fearful of exhausting himself. He would plan his speaking engagements closely before beginning a campaign tour, and would seldom permit himself to be crowded into extras at cross-road stations. To keep large appointments, and to be in condition for long speeches, he had to forego the fatigue of frequent stops for five-minute talks. But McKinley, with what seemed almost reckless disregard of his health, never disappointed an audience if he could help it. His distinguishing quality as a campaigner is, that he is always ready, whether it is to talk from a car platform, to the mill hands going to work at seven o'clock in the morning, in the public square at the lunch hour, or by the railroad sidings, or in the opera house at night. Although provided with private cars, ostensibly for rest when occasion offered, they were of very little use to him for that purpose. They were almost constantly crowded with admiring friends, who rendered rest impossible. A correspondent of a Cincinnati paper, in writing a summary of that notable campaign, said:

"It has been estimated by those who have been with him that he has addressed two million people. The audiences which have flocked to hear McKinley have been enormous. In many places the crowds that went to hear him were the largest ever gathered in those places upon any oc-

casion. People traveled great distances to hear him. At Lincoln, Nebraska, there were among his hearers five hundred cowboys, who had ridden ninety miles on their mustangs for the sole purpose of hearing protection's chief exponent. At St. Louis there were several men in the audience who came three hundred miles from their homes in Dakota to hear him speak."

The audience at Hutchinson, Kansas, numbered not less than thirty thousand people, coming from Texas, Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Indian Territory. In many places, crowds were turned away before the doors of large halls.

That year a number of appeals came from Louisiana protectionists for McKinley to visit New Orleans and make a speech. It did not seem possible, but finally after the fourth appeal from a representative, who had gone to Ohio to present it in person, McKinley consented to make the trip, canceling other engagements, as every available hour had been taken up. He started October 19th, on a special train, but there was little or no rest for him. A large crowd greeted him at Lexington, and speeches were made at several places. At Chattanooga, McKinley was called out to make a speech to an audience of over six thousand people. Even at places at which the train did not stop, people had gathered in large numbers to greet McKinley with flags and guns as he flew past. On the morning of the 20th, he arrived in New Orleans, and in the evening, in the immense auditorium built for the Fitzsimmons-Hall fight, seating over 6,000 people, he spoke for two hours upon the issues of the day, reviewing the whole tariff question, and closing with a patriotic and eloquent tribute to the Republican party.

Thousands of men and women failed to gain admission to the immense hall, but cheered outside for the "Apostle of Protection." The New Orleans papers the next morning were interesting reading. They treated McKinley fairly, and were strongly impressed with the popular greeting he had received. The "Picayune" gave this graphic account of the struggle which occurred at the close of the speech:

"When the last words had been uttered, a cheering and a shouting went up which shook the very rafters of the vast hall. Long and loud it was, being echoed and re-echoed until the din was perfectly deafening. Then before the sounds had half subsided, and the speaker had recovered his composure after his effort, some one of the horde around the press table made a break to mount the platform and shake the hand of the expounder of the theory of protection. It was like applying a match to a powder keg. Instantly there were five hundred men bounding to the platform, and struggling and fighting among themselves to reach the center, where McKinley, almost smothered, and barely able to keep his feet, was having both hands shaken at a rate that probably made him think that he was walking on a treadmill on his hands. They pushed, and shoved, and howled, and cursed and yelled, until the scene was a perfect babel. The entire platform was one mass of struggling humanity, black, and white, and saffron, and the gentlemen who but a few moments before had been sitting up there the very impersonation of dignity, were lost in the shuffle, and it would have been like hunting for a needle in a haystack to try to catch sight of any of them."

After this dusty, hot, and hurried trip of over two thousand miles to make that single notable speech at New

Orleans, McKinley was hurried off to the coal districts of West Virginia, where a series of splendid meetings were held. They called it McKinley day in West Virginia. The twelve meetings averaged over two thousand people at each, and the aggregate number of people who heard him was estimated at thirty-two thousand.

On the 24th of October he was welcomed again at Pittsburgh, the people turning out in regiments, not one-half being able to gain admission to the hall. As he walked upon the stage the vast audience broke into a long and hearty cheer, and kept it up, waving handkerchiefs and throwing up their hats until they were almost breathless, and the enthusiasm continued all through the brilliant speech which he made. On the 27th of October ten thousand people crowded around the platform at City Hall Square in Albany, to hear the great protectionist. His trip thence through New York was one continuous ovation.

These are glimpses only of McKinley's work in the campaign of 1894. The reports of the meetings as they appeared in the newspapers at the time would fill many large volumes. It was the most remarkable exhibition of popular enthusiasm, and the most remarkable exhibition of untiring energy in a man that has ever been seen in this country. It was by such hard work that McKinley won the reputation of having addressed more people than any other American statesman; and yet he always did it willingly, uncomplainingly, entering into the enthusiasm and feelings of the people about him, and taking their applause modestly, as if intended more for the party he represented than for himself.

CHAPTER XXVI.

VOX POPULI — THE SWEEP OF THE TIDE OF PUBLIC OPINION — “MCKINLEY OUR NEXT PRESIDENT.”

Significance of a Popular Demand for One Man — The Turning of the Tide — Democratic Heavy Guns Turned on McKinley — McKinleyism Becomes a Badge of Honor — The Democrats Try to Make it a Term of Reproach — Why the People Flocked to See and Hear the Ohio Man — His Opportunity had Come — Republicans Everywhere Volunteer their Support — The Ohio Convention — His Candidacy Officially Announced — The Canvass Placed in Mark A. Hanna's Hands — Hanna's Business Sagacity — States Left Free to Express Themselves in their Own Way — The McKinley Managers — Every Effort to Check the Sentiment Strengthens It — Favorite Sons — A Majority of the Delegates.

S ELDOM in the history of political affairs is a plain, spontaneous, and irresistible demand made by the people for any one as a candidate for the presidency. Voters, under which ever party-flag training, have usually been divided in their preferences and the final choice has been left to the exigencies of a convention of diverse elements, and often has been reached only after long struggles. When a strong popular demand for any one man does appear, there is a significance in it. It is something that cannot be trifled with. No cunningly devised obstacles interfere with it. All efforts to check it only strengthen it.

When McKinley was making his marvelous campaign-

ing tour of 1894, and was everywhere greeted as "our next President," the tide had just begun to turn. In the midst of their financial and industrial depression they naturally and logically sought a man who embodied their ideas of a policy providing "a way out." Any good Republican statesman would have upheld this doctrine of protection, but no Republican statesman so embodies in his career and personality the sentiment of the people as William McKinley. Against him, as the leading exponent of protection, the Democrats had leveled their heaviest guns. Though a whole Congress was to be elected in 1890, the issue of McKinley's candidacy in a single Ohio district, nominally three thousand Democratic, was close enough to overshadow both here and in Europe all other results in the country.

Republican protection was embodied in a measure which was known of all men, and spoken of by all, except McKinley himself, as "The McKinley Bill." McKinleyism became a word, an idea, an American policy. The Democrats sought to make it a term of reproach; the voters listened to their wailings and followed the ignis fatuus of "tariff reform" into the woods. Swiftly came the penalty of deceiving a great people. In no way could they, now undeceived, rebuke their deceivers so plainly, so effectually, as by hastening back and rallying about McKinley. In no other way could they express in one word the whole sum and substance of the policy they desired the government to pursue at the first available opportunity. They thought little of schedules; they did not need to. It was the McKinley principle that they sought, and when they looked to McKinley and studied him closer they found not

simply a man who represented the industrial policy they desired, but a plain man, always in touch with the people, one of them, with a faith in them that was an inspiration in itself. He became, in a sense, their hero. Journeying, many of them, long miles, they were actuated not simply by a wish to catch the sound of the voice and a glimpse of the features of the man who made, it seemed to them, McKinley prices and prosperity, but by a desire to honor one whom they had, as they thought, ill-treated, by deserting him to take up with Democratic tariff reform and depression.

McKinley naturally saw and felt that his opportunity had come. In 1884 his voice had been raised with the people for Blaine; in 1888 for Sherman; in 1892 for Harrison. In 1894 the people raised their voice for McKinley. In 1888 he had thrust aside a nomination which might have been his to keep faith as a man with Sherman. In 1892, when his friends, and some who cared less for him than for the defeat of Harrison, again endeavored to nominate him, he made the strongest possible protest in the convention. In either case, though the party would not have suffered, McKinley would not have been the nominee of the Republican masses so much as the nominee of the convention. McKinley is loyal to his friends, and is a man who waits for his opportunities, and then seizes them, if he thinks it is right. In 1894, he discovered their feelings and desires. He saw that they demanded him, and a demand made upon McKinley by the people is a demand always honored. The sentiment grew stronger. No one except those who have a knowledge of McKinley's correspondence in the past three years knows how Republicans everywhere, voluntarily and unconditionally, came to his support, and it was a support

that any man of his character and position would be proud to have.

In 1895, while the tide in his favor swept on with increasing strength, McKinley took a less active part in national politics, avoiding even the appearance of influencing the current of events. He preferred that matters should take their own course, and deal with him as they would. While leading Republicans in various sections were "talking" McKinley for 1896, the first official announcement of his candidacy was made at the Ohio convention in 1895. The platform declared him to be Ohio's choice, and thus did Senator Foraker describe him as the man of the hour.

"William McKinley is our own. He lives here in Ohio, and has always lived in our midst. He is our friend, our neighbor, our fellow-citizen, our fellow Republican. Shoulder to shoulder with him we have been fighting the battles of Republicanism in this State for a generation. We know him and he knows us. We know his life, his character, his public services, and his fitness for the place for which he has been named. He has been our soldier comrade, our Representative in Congress, our Governor. By all these tokens, we, here, to-day, present him to the Republicans of the other sections of the Union as our choice, and ask them to make him theirs. In every community, in every municipality, in every mill and mine and furnace and forge and workshop, everywhere throughout this broad land where capital is invested, or labor is employed, William McKinley is the ideal American statesman, the typical American leader, and the veritable American idol. No man ever, in public life in this country, en-

joyed such universal popularity as his. No man in this country, in public life, ever commanded, as he now commands, the affections of the great mass of the voters of this country. Blameless in private life, useful and illustrious in public life, his name, in our judgment, will inspire more confidence, excite more enthusiasm, and give greater guarantee of success than any other name that can be inscribed on the Republican banner."

The friendship formed between Mark A. Hanna, of Cleveland, and William McKinley, when, early in the latter's career, he secured the acquittal of several unruly miners, charged with setting fire to Hanna's property, was never shaken, but had increased with years. McKinley admired Hanna's qualities as a business man as much as Hanna admired McKinley's qualities as a statesman. McKinley placed the details of his candidacy in Hanna's hands, knowing that they would be cared for with an honesty such as he desired, and a thoroughness such as Hanna was capable of. Associated with Hanna were some shrewd men, including Major Dick and ex-Librarian J. P. Smith, of the State of Ohio, and long associated with McKinley.

It is sufficient to say of the remarkably successful campaign of 1896, that it was based on the principle that the people desired McKinley. Everywhere they were left practically free to express their wishes in their own way. The closest watch was kept on affairs as they progressed in different States. Hanna and his associates were in contact and close touch with McKinley men in every State, and knew the peculiarities of local politics everywhere, but their efforts were devoted more to insuring a free public choice than to influencing it.

In every State McKinley managers were chosen; through these, and these alone, did Hanna represent McKinley's interests, but the managers, as we have said, were left to conduct the campaign for McKinley, each in his own State as he thought best.

The course of the campaign is recent history, and familiar to all. The most daring efforts to circumvent McKinley's nomination failed, and their effect was in every case to strengthen his hold upon the people. The number of States that instructed their delegates for McKinley was unusual. The Republican masses determined to take no chances with the convention, but to have their will registered at the very beginning. Other good men were candidates, men whom the party would have delighted to honor under other circumstances, and the fact that Speaker Reed and Senator Allison failed to find large support was not because they were not admired and honored by the people everywhere, but because they sought McKinley and none other.

Other men who were induced to enter the campaign as favorite sons discovered that, however much their States might like to have them, the people could not be tempted away from McKinley. Two months before the convention met, more than a majority of the delegates to the convention favorable to McKinley was elected, a fact almost unparalleled in the history of the Republican party, and the campaign for the nomination was practically over.

No campaign of this magnitude was ever conducted without some manifestation of bitterness, but none came from McKinley. A strong effort was made by enemies in the Democratic party, seconded to some extent by friends

of other candidates in his own party, to throw suspicion on his views. But no public man has so often, or to so many people, or so unequivocally, expressed his views. In the midst of these efforts McKinley maintained a dignified attitude, remaining most of the time at Canton, and denying an audience to no one. He was determined to allow the people to arrange matters in their own way, and provide their own platform. From the beginning he maintained his absolute confidence in the judgment of the people upon his record and upon his candidacy.

CHAPTER XXVII.

McKINLEY'S NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT—SCENES AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1896.

Culmination of a Popular Movement — Story of the Great Republican Convention at St. Louis — Roll Call for Nominations — Foraker Nominates McKinley — The Mention of his Name Followed by a Half Hour of Cheering — A Pandemonium of Cheers and Shouts — An Animated Scene — Unavailing Efforts of the Chair to Restore Order — Fifteen Thousand People Sing Patriotic Songs — The Nomination Seconded by Senator Thurston — His Brilliant Speech — "The Shibboleth for this Campaign is 'Protection'" — A Good Story — "Hurrah! Hurrah! We Bring the Jubilee!" — Result of the Ballot — McKinley Receives 661½ Votes — Cheers and Huzzas Rend the Air — Making the Nomination Unanimous — Chauncey M. Depew's Felicitous Speech.

NO convention in its history has revealed the strength of the Republican party as an organization of the progressive people who contribute to the welfare and growth of the United States, more distinctly than the convention which was called to order at noon, June 16th, in the city of St. Louis. That history started with Fremont in 1856. Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Blaine, and Harrison followed. Notable were some of the conventions which made these men the standard bearers. But in the elements which reveal the vitality and permanence of principle, the growth of power and influence, the mighty force which shapes

events, no convention was ever more notable or inspiring than that which nominated William McKinley. Never did delegates assemble with so many earnest people of the nation behind them.

It is not the purpose here to rehearse the details of the preliminary work, the organization, and the many stirring incidents of that convention still fresh in the minds of the people. It was the culmination of the popular movement begun three years before to restore the Republican party to power, and to place the standard in McKinley's hands. Democratic newspapers strove to magnify the incidental skirmishes by conflicting interests either in the settlement of contested cases, the phraseology of a declaration of the enduring principles of the party, or in the rivalry of candidates, but in their zeal and desperation they even passed beyond the bounds of safety in misrepresentation. An intelligent people was not deceived. It was a convention to make every Republican proud of his party, and the devotion of its leaders to its principles and to its success was acknowledged by even the most hostile newspaper critics.

As temporary chairman, Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana delivered an eloquent address, appropriately reviewing the conditions which had led to the present strength of the party with the people, and the regular committees were chosen. At the morning session on Wednesday, Senator J. M. Thurston of Nebraska was chosen permanent chairman. He is one of the most eloquent speakers of the day, and in a brief speech he concisely and impressively stated what a Republican administration would mean. When he closed with the words, "a deathless loyalty to all that is truly American, and a patriotism as eternal as the stars,"

the air was rent with cheers. The day was consumed in routine matters, chiefly the discussion and settlement of a few cases of contesting delegations.

The great day of the convention was Thursday. All the delegates and a mighty audience gathered in the knowledge that the real business for which the delegates had gathered was at hand. There were 15,000 people crowded together under the vast roof. It was a scene no other government in the world affords. At 2 o'clock Chairman Thurston directed the call of states for nominations for President. Iowa was the first to respond, R. M. Baldwin of Council Bluffs going to the platform and gracefully presenting the name of Senator W. B. Allison. Senator Lodge nominated Speaker Thomas B. Reed in a forcible speech, which was loudly applauded. The nomination was seconded by Charles E. Littlefield of Maine. A round of cheers greeted Chauncey M. Depew as he rose to present the name of Levi P. Morton, which he did in one of his eloquent and pleasing speeches, eliciting frequent applause.

Then the call of the roll continued — North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio — ex-Governor Foraker rose and went to the platform amid applause which revealed the feeling of the great convention and the vast audience. Foraker had nominated McKinley in State conventions, but never under such inspiring circumstances as these. He is one of the most powerful speakers in a country which, in spite of disparaging critics, abounds in eloquent men.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: It would be exceedingly difficult, if not entirely impossible, to exaggerate the disagreeable situation of the last four years. The grand aggregate of the multitudinous bad results of a Democratic National Ad-

ministration may be summed up as one stupendous disaster. It has been a disaster, however, not without, at least, this one redeeming feature—that it has been fair; nobody has escaped. (Loud laughter.)

It has fallen equally and alike on all sections of the country and on all classes of our people; the just and the unjust, the Republican and the Democrat, the rich and the poor, the high and the low have suffered in common. Poverty and distress have overtaken business; shrunken values have dissipated fortunes; deficiencies of revenue have impoverished the government, while bond issues and bond syndicates have discredited and scandalized the country.

Over against that fearful penalty is, however, to be set down one great, blessed compensatory result—it has destroyed the Democratic party. (Cheers and laughter.) The proud columns which swept the country in triumph in 1892 are broken and hopeless in 1896. Their boasted principles, when put to the test, have proved to be delusive fallacies, and their great leaders have degenerated into warring chieftains of petty and irreconcilable factions. Their approaching national convention is but an approaching national nightmare. No man pretends to be able to predict any good result to come from it. And no man is seeking the nomination of that convention except only the limited few who have advertised their unfitness for any kind of a public trust by proclaiming their willingness to stand on any sort of a platform that may be adopted. (Laughter.)

The truth is, the party which would stand up under the odium of human slavery, opposed to the war for the preservation of the Union, to emancipation, to enfranchisement, to reconstruction and to specie resumption is at last to be overmatched and undone by itself. It is writhing in the throes and agonies of final dissolution. No human agency can prevent its absolute overthrow at the next election, except only this convention. If we make no mistake here, the Democratic party will go out of power on the 4th day of March, 1897 (applause), to remain out of power until God, in His infinite wisdom and mercy and goodness, shall see fit once more to chastise His people. (Loud laughter and applause.)

So far we have not made any mistake. We have adopted a platform which, notwithstanding the scene witnessed in this hall this morning, meets the demands and expectations of the American people.

It remains for us now, as the last crowning act of our work, to meet again that same expectation in the nomination of our candidates. What is that expectation? What is it that the people want? They want as their candidate something more than "a good business man." They want something more than a popular leader. They want something more than a wise and patriotic statesman. They want a man who embodies in himself not only all these essential qualifications, but those, in addition, which, in the highest possible degree, typify in name, in character, in record, in ambition, in purpose, the exact opposite of all that is signified and represented by that free-trade, deficit-making, bond-issuing, labor-assassinating, Democratic Administration. (Cheers.) I stand here to present to this convention such a man. His name is William McKinley.

At the mention of McKinley's name, over 10,000 jumped to their feet. Spontaneous and unrestrained was the pandemonium of cheers and shouts. Red, white, and blue plumes suddenly blossomed forth all over the vast hall, and waved in the air. The band tried in vain to compete with the demonstration, but at last strains of "Marching Through Georgia" caught the ears of the crowd, and they joined in the chorus and gradually quieted down.

Then a portrait of McKinley was hoisted on a line with the United States flag on the gallery facing the platform, and the cheering began over again, to which the band responded by playing "Rally Round the Flag," the convention joining in the chorus.

After at least twelve minutes of this kind of proceeding

the Chair began to rap for a restoration of order, but without avail.

Senator-elect Foraker stood during all this wild scene smiling his approval. Mr. Hepburn of Iowa had in the meantime been called to the chair by Senator Thurston, but just when he had nearly restored order, a woman from California, who had presented the plumes in honor of Ohio's choice, made her appearance on the floor, waving one of them, and another uncontrollable outbreak of apparently temporary insanity occurred. During the interval of confusion, a three-quarter face, full-size sculptured bust of McKinley was presented to Mr. Foraker by the Republican Club of the University of Chicago. The portrait was in a mahogany frame, decorated with red, white, and blue ribbons, and with a bow of maroon-colored ribbons forming the colors of the university.

After twenty-five minutes of incessant turmoil, Mr. Foraker was allowed to resume his speech. He spoke of the great champions of Republicanism in the past, eulogizing Mr. Blaine particularly, and continued:

But, greatest of all, measured by present requirements, is the leader of the House of Representatives, the author of the McKinley bill, which gave to labor its richest awards. No other name so completely meets the requirements of the occasion, and no other name so absolutely commands all hearts. The shafts of envy and malice and slander and libel and detraction that have been aimed at him lie broken and harmless at his feet. The quiver is empty, and he is untouched. That is because the people know him, trust him, believe in him, love him, and will not permit any human power to disparage him unjustly in their estimation.

They know that he is an American of Americans. They know that he is just and able and brave, and they want him for

President of the United States. (Applause.) They have already shown it — not in this or that State, nor in this or that section, but in all the States and in all the sections from ocean to ocean, and from the gulf to the lakes. They expect of you to give them a chance to vote for him. It is our duty to do it. If we discharge that duty we will give joy to their hearts, enthusiasm to their souls, and triumphant victory to our cause. (Applause.) And he, in turn, will give us an administration under which the country will enter on a new era of prosperity at home and of glory and honor abroad, by all these tokens of the present and all these promises of the future. In the name of the forty-six delegates of Ohio, I submit his claim to your consideration. (More applause.)

Senator Thurston of Nebraska was recognized by Temporary Chairman Hepburn, and seconded the nomination of McKinley. He spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: This is the year of the people. They are conscious of their power; they are tenacious of their right; they are supreme in this convention; they are certain of victory now in November.

They have framed the issue of this campaign. What is it? Money? Yes, money! Not that which is coined for the mine owner at the mint or clipped by the coupon-cutter from the bond, but that which is created by American muscle on the farms and in the factories. The western mountains clamor for silver and the eastern seashore cries for gold, but the millions ask for work — an opportunity to labor and to live.

The prosperity of a nation is in the employment of its people, and, thank God! the electors of the United States know this great economic truth at last. The Republican party does not stand for Nevada or New York alone, but for both; not for one State, but for all. Its platform is as broad as the land, as national as the flag. Republicans are definitely committed to sound currency, but they believe that in a government of the people the welfare of men is paramount to the interests of money. Their shibboleth for this campaign is "Protection." From the vantage-ground of their

own selection they cannot be stampeded by Wall-Street panics or free-coinage cyclones. Reports of international complications and rumors of war pass them lightly by; they know that the real enemy of American prosperity is free trade, and the best coast defense is a protective tariff. They do not fear the warlike preparations of Europe, but they do fear its cheap manufactures. Their real danger is not from foreign navies carrying guns, but from foreign fleets bringing goods.

This is the year of the people. They have risen in their might. From ocean to ocean, from lake to gulf, they are united as never before. We know their wishes and are here to register their will. They must not be cheated of their choice. They know the man best qualified and equipped to fight their battles and to win their victories. His name is in every heart, on every tongue. His nomination is certain, his election sure. His candidacy will sweep the country as a prairie is swept by fire.

This is the year of the people. In their name, by their authority, I second the nomination of their great champion, William McKinley. Not as a favorite son of any State, but as the favorite son of the United States. Not as a concession to Ohio, but as an added honor to the nation.

When this country called to arms, he took into his boyish hands a musket and followed the flag, bravely baring his breast to the hell of battle, that it might float serenely in the Union sky. For a quarter of a century he has stood in the fierce light of public place, and his robes of office are spotless as the driven snow. He has cherished no higher ambition than the honor of his country and the welfare of the plain people. Steadfastly, courageously, victoriously, and with tongue of fire he has pleaded their cause. His labor, ability, and perseverance have enriched the statutes of the United States with legislation in their behalf. All his contributions to the masterpieces of American oratory are the outpourings of a pure heart and a patriotic purpose. His God-given powers are consecrated to the advancement and renown of his own country, and to the uplifting and ennobling of his own countrymen. He has the courage of his convictions, and cannot

be tempted to woo success or avert defeat by any sacrifice of principle or concession to popular clamor.

In the hour of Republican disaster, when other leaders were excusing and apologizing, he stood steadfastly by that grand legislative act which bore his name, confidently submitting his case to the judgment of events, and calmly waiting for that triumphal vindication whose laurel this convention is impatient to place upon his brow.

Strengthened and seasoned by long Congressional service, broadened by the exercise of important executive powers, master of the great economic questions of the age, eloquent, single-hearted and sincere, he stands to-day the most conspicuous and commanding character of this generation, divinely ordained, as I believe for a great mission, to lead this people out from the shadow of adversity into the sunshine of a new and enduring prosperity.

Omnipotence never sleeps. Every great crisis brings a leader. For every supreme hour Providence finds a man. The necessities of '96 are almost as great as those of '61. True, the enemies of the nation have ceased to threaten with the sword, and the Constitution of the United States no longer tolerates that shackles shall fret the limbs of men, but free trade and free coinage hold no less menace to American progress than did the armed hosts of treason and rebellion. If the voice of the people is indeed the voice of God, then William McKinley is the complement of Abraham Lincoln. Yea, and he will issue a new Emancipation Proclamation to the enslaved sons of toil, and they shall be lifted up into the full enjoyment of those privileges, advantages, and opportunities that belong of right to the American people.

Under his administration we shall command the respect of the nations of the earth; the American flag will never be hauled down; the rights of American citizenship will be enforced; abundant revenues provided; foreign merchandise will remain abroad; our gold be kept at home; American institutions will be cherished and upheld; all governmental obligations scrupulously kept, and on the escutcheon of the republic will be indelibly engraved the American policy, "Protection, Reciprocity, and Sound Money."

My countrymen: Let not your hearts be troubled; the darkest hour is just before the day; the morning of the twentieth century will dawn bright and clear. Lift up your hopeful faces and receive the light; the Republican party is coming back to power, and William McKinley will be President of the United States.

In an inland manufacturing city, on election night, November, '94, after the wires had confirmed the news of a sweeping Republican victory, two workmen started to climb to the top of a great smokeless chimney.

That chimney had been built by the invitation and upon the promise of Republican protective legislation. In the factory over which it towered was employment for twice a thousand men. Its mighty roar had heralded the prosperity of a whole community. It had stood a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night for a busy, industrious, happy people. Now bleak, blackened, voiceless, and dismantled, like a grim spectre of evil, it frowned down upon the hapless city, where poverty, idleness, stagnation, and want attested the complete disaster of the free trade experiment.

Up and up and up they climbed, watched by the breathless multitude below. Up and up and up, until at last they stood upon its summit; and there in the glare of the electric lights, cheered by the gathered thousands, they unfurled and nailed an American flag. Down in the streets strong men wept — the happy tears of hope — and mothers, lifting up their babes, invoked the blessing of the flag; and then impassioned lips burst forth in song — the hallelujah of exulting hosts, the mighty paean of a people's joy. That song, the enthusiastic millions yet sing,

Hurrah ! Hurrah ! we bring the jubilee;

Hurrah ! Hurrah ! the flag that makes us free;

So we sing the chorus from the mountain to the sea;

Hurrah for McKinley and Protection.

Over the city that free flag waved, caressed by the passing breeze, kissed by the silent stars. And there the first glad sunshine of the morning fell upon it, luminous and lustrous with the tidings of Republican success.

On behalf of those stalwart workmen, and all the vast army

of American toilers; that their employment may be certain; their wages just, their dollars the best in the civilized world; on behalf of that dismantled chimney and the deserted factory at its base; that the furnaces may once more flame, the mighty wheels revolve, the whistles scream, the anvils ring, the spindles hum; on behalf of the thousand cottages round about, and all the humble homes of this broad land; that comfort and contentment may again abide, the firesides glow, the women sing, the children laugh; yes, and on behalf of that American flag and all it stands for and represents; for the honor of every stripe, for the glory of every star; that its power may fill the earth and its splendor span the sky, I ask the nomination of that loyal American, that Christian gentleman, soldier, statesman, patriot, William McKinley.

After Governor Hastings of Pennsylvania put Senator Quay in nomination, and a few other speeches were made for various candidates, the voting began. Rapidly as the states were called did the McKinley total approach a majority. When Ohio, his own State, was reached, McKinley had the requisite number, and the convention again broke into cheers, but the roll call continued.

In a moment Chairman Thurston announced that William McKinley had received 661 1-2 votes, and the scene of an hour before was repeated. Delegates and spectators arose and cheered, and waved flags and banners, and the pampas plumes of California; the band struck up "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and cheers and huzzas rent the air. There was not a single one of the fifteen or sixteen thousand people in the great hall who did not do his or her best to swell the sounds of jubilee, and to join in the grand popular demonstration in favor of the successful candidate. The women were as enthusiastic as the men. It seemed as if no one would be seated again, and as if orderly proceedings

would never more be attempted. One young man on the platform waved, on the point of the National banner, a cocked hat such as the conqueror of Marengo is represented as wearing. This symbol of victory added, if possible, to the enthusiasm, and the noise was swelled by the booming of artillery outside.

At last the presiding officer got a chance to continue his announcement of the vote. Thomas B. Reed, he said, had received 84 1-2 votes; Senator Quay, 61 1-2; Levi P. Morton, 58; Senator Allison, 35 1-2; and Don Cameron, 1.

Senator Lodge, rising in his delegation, and standing upon his chair, said: "Mr. Chairman, the friends of Mr. Reed have followed him with the same loyalty which he has always shown himself to country, and principle, and party. That loyalty they now transfer to the soldier, the patriot, the American, whom you have nominated here to-day, and on behalf of my own State, and I believe of all the other New England States that supported Mr. Reed, we pledge a great majority in our own States, and our assistance to other States and all the help we can render for Mr. William McKinley. [Cheers.] I move you, sir, that the nomination of William McKinley may be made unanimous. [Cheers.]

Mr. Hastings of Pennsylvania, who had nominated Senator Quay, seconded the motion to make Mr. McKinley's nomination unanimous. Pennsylvania, he said, with the loyalty which always distinguished her, would become the champion of the champion of protection to American industry, William McKinley, and would welcome the issue of American protection, American credit, American policy, and give to William McKinley the largest majority that she had ever given to a Republican candidate. [Cheers.]

Thomas C. Platt, on behalf of the State of New York, also seconded the motion to make William McKinley's nomination unanimous, and declared that New York would give its usual if not double its usual majority for the Republican candidate.

Mr. Henderson of Iowa also seconded the nomination of William McKinley. The Convention, he said, had elected a national committee to run the coming campaign, but it was not needed. The Republicans of the country would run the next campaign. [Cheers and laughter.] It was they who made the nomination, and not Mark Hanna or General Grosvenor. [More cheers.] The States, he said, would give McKinley a majority unprecedented in American history. By the authority of the distinguished senator from Iowa, Senator Allison, and in obedience to the instructions of the Iowa delegation, he seconded the motion to make Major McKinley the unanimous choice of the Republicans of the United States. [Applause.]

Yielding to the vociferous calls for a speech, Mr. Depew mounted his chair in the back part of the hall, where the rays of the sun were beaming on his countenance, which was itself beaming with joy and good humor, and said:

I am in the happy position now of making a speech for the man who is going to be elected. (Laughter and applause.) It is a great thing for an amateur, when his first nomination has failed, to come in and second the man who has succeeded. New York is here, with no bitter feeling and with no disappointment. We recognize that the waves have submerged us, but we have bobbed up serenely. (Loud laughter.) It was a cannon from New York that sounded first the news of McKinley's nomination. They said of Governor Morton's father that he was a New England clergyman, who brought up a family of ten children on \$300 a year, and was,

notwithstanding, gifted in prayer. (Laughter.) It does not make any difference how poor he may be, how out of work, how ragged, how next door to a tramp anybody may be in the United States to-night, he will be "gifted in prayer" at the result of this convention. (Cheers and Laughter.)

There is a principle dear to the American heart. It is the principle which moves American spindles, starts its industries, and makes the wage-earners sought for, instead of seeking employment. That principle is embodied in McKinley. His personality explains the nomination to-day, and his personality will carry into the presidential chair the aspirations of the voters of America, of the families of America, of the homes of America, protection to American industry and America for Americans. (Cheers.)

The Chair put the question, "Shall the nomination be made unanimous?" and by a rising vote it was so ordered, and the Chair announced that William McKinley of Ohio was the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HOW McKINLEY RECEIVED THE NEWS OF HIS NOMINATION — WILD DEMONSTRATIONS OF JOY AT CANTON — REJOICING THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Preparations at Canton for Receiving the News — Connecting McKinley's Residence with the Convention Hall by Telephone — Awaiting the News — An Expectant Little Circle — The Clicking Telegraph at Work — McKinley Coolly Reads the Despatches — His Comments upon Them — The Vote — Jotting Down the Fateful Figures — McKinley's Nomination Assured — The Boom of a Distant Cannon — A Notable Celebration — Receiving Congratulations — McKinley's Reply to his Neighbor's Address — He is Deeply Moved — Called upon by a New York Delegation — McKinley's Welcome to Them — "Keep Close to the People" — The Great Principle which has Given us "Plenty and Prosperity."

WHILE the occurrences related in the preceding chapter were taking place, McKinley remained quietly — or as quietly as circumstances would permit — at his home in Canton. His townsmen, confident of his nomination in the convention, made extensive preparations for a demonstration of their joy, to begin at the very moment the result was known. The rival telegraph companies made elaborate preparations for conveying to Canton the news of the convention, and a long distance telephone connected the convention hall with Major McKinley's residence, with an expert at either end.



BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY AT NILES, OHIO.
HIS PRESENT RESIDENCE AT CANTON, OHIO.

During the proceedings of that final and that historic day of the convention, McKinley sat in a rocking chair in the office at his residence, to all appearances the same calm and unconcerned man he always was in moments of supreme importance. About him were some of his Canton friends and newspaper correspondents, with no restraints upon their liberty, free to join the expectant little circle or the comforts of the spacious veranda. In the room across the hall were Mother McKinley, bravely carrying her eighty-six years, and Mrs. McKinley, smiling a welcome to all.

Despatch after despatch fell from the clicking telegraph instruments. The major coolly read them, commented upon them, and talked interestingly at intervals of previous conventions. The long discussions over contested cases and over the financial plank were received impatiently by some of his friends, but the major laughingly consoled them.

When at last, after a lunch, at which Mrs. McKinley presided, the time for the nominating speeches came, McKinley took a position by the telephone, at which was seated the expert operator. Finally word came that Foraker was to speak; then the operator told the eager audience how that the moment Foraker mentioned McKinley's name, the whole convention was in an uproar of applause. The minutes passed. "They are keeping it up," said the operator. The major told his friends of cheering contests he had heard in other conventions. Then he stepped to the instrument and listened a moment to the roar of applause and cheering, which was darted through the slender wire, over the rolling fields of three States, from the convention hall to Canton. Finally Foraker resumed, and his words were repeated to the little circle.

Then came the vote. McKinley, tablet in hand, jotted down the fateful figures as they were announced. "Ohio forty-six for McKinley." That settled it. It was a majority. The major calmly walked across the hall to the room where the anxious ladies were gathered, and kissed his wife and aged mother.

At the same instant, the boom of a cannon shook the house. Canton had begun its celebration. In a moment, great processions of people were hurrying to the major's house, and the major received them as he always receives them, as proud of them as they are of him.

In a short time a parade was moving. Several thousand were in line, the Grand Army posts leading, and citizens with banners, badges, and other campaign paraphernalia, falling in behind. A conspicuous part was made up of all the commercial travelers in Canton hotels, who got up an organization as the returns came in.

When the crowd massed about the McKinley home in North Market street, a well-known manufacturer, a member of the Stark county bar, and a representative citizen, who had been chosen by the committee as spokesman, in these words addressed Mr. McKinley:

"Major McKinley: Your neighbors and townsmen wish to be the first to congratulate you upon your nomination to the highest office within the gift of the people. None know better than these neighbors assembled how well this honor is merited. They were the first to witness the beginning of your public career. They saw you quit your academic studies with the ardor of youth and bravery beyond your years to devote your services to your country. The courage and ability you then displayed, promise of what

followed in later years, won for you that rank and title of which we have so long and familiarly addressed you.

"A few of your veteran comrades have again formed in line, and, joining the citizens of Canton, take this opportunity to make pronounced their high regard for you. The ability and fidelity with which you have discharged great public trusts, and the recognition by your countrymen of long and useful service to the State and nation, are exceedingly gratifying to your Canton and Stark county friends, and as welcome to your neighbors without distinction of party.

"Bearing it in mind that while you have acted in a broader field, you have not lost sight of the duties and obligations of the citizen, and with your many cares and responsibilities, you have always found time and opportunity to lend your valued assistance to all that makes for good in your community, we all unite in extending to you our hearty congratulations and good wishes."

Major McKinley listened attentively, and was visibly affected. His voice trembled a little as he began his response. He has been used to speaking to throngs, however, and soon made himself heard by hundreds. He said:

"Fellow Citizens, and Friends: I am profoundly moved as well as greatly honored by this demonstration. Non-partisan as it is in character, politics must be forbidden, and I only appear for the purpose of making grateful acknowledgment to your address and congratulations. I am not indifferent at the pleasure which you exhibit at the news just received from the Republican National convention. For days your interest has been centered upon St. Louis, and your presence in such vast numbers here testifies

not only to your good will, but to your gratification at the work there done.

“Your cordial assurances are all the more appreciated because they come from my fellow citizens of all parties and all creeds — my old neighbors, my former constituents, my comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, with whom I have lived almost a lifetime, and who have repeatedly bestowed upon me offices of great and important trust. Your warm words, Mr. Chairman, are more than reciprocated on my part, and will be long cherished and remembered.

“Many of those around me have not always agreed with me nor I with them politically, but it is pleasant, as I look into your faces this beautiful day, to be able to recall that there has never been a moment of time in all the years of the past that you, irrespective of party, have withheld from me your friendship, your confidence, and your encouragement. You have always been generously loyal, and my heart to-day is full of gratitude to you all.

“There is nothing more gratifying or honorable that can come to any man than to have the regard and esteem of his fellow townsmen. And in this I have been peculiarly blessed. Never were neighbors more devoted, never friendship so unfaltering as yours has been. You have always made my cause your cause, and my home among you has been one of increasing pleasure. This city, and this goodly old county of Stark are very near and dear to me. I came here a young man. I have spent with you all of my young manhood, and I have been identified with this magnificent city and county for nearly a third of a century. I have followed its growth with unconcealed pride, and have noted

with satisfaction that it has kept pace with the most advanced and prosperous communities, and has fallen behind none.

“ I am glad, my neighbors and fellow citizens, to greet you here. You have never failed to greet me with your best wishes and congratulations upon every occasion of my nomination to public office, commencing more than twenty years ago, when I was first named for Congress by my party. I cannot undertake to estimate the value of these many friendly demonstrations. They were so helpful; they were so stimulating; they were so encouraging; more than you could have anticipated or believed at the time.

“ Your call to-day is warmly appreciated. I have no words adequately to express my appreciation of it. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, from the bottom of my heart, for what you have said as expressive of the feelings of those for whom you speak; and this, the latest evidence of your esteem, makes me more than ever indebted to you, and the happy memory of your kindness and friendship will abide with me forever.”

But the celebration at Canton had only begun. Residences and business places were gayly decorated. Delegation after delegation arrived to tender formal congratulations. The next evening a large delegation of New Yorkers stopped on their return from St. Louis. Warner Miller was their spokesman. In welcoming them, McKinley said: “ My fellow citizens of New York, it gives me great pleasure to meet and greet you here at my home to-day. It was most generous on your part to have paused on your journey to the East long enough to have stopped to give me the pleasure of meeting you face to face. Nothing could be more

agreeable to me than to be presented to the members of the McKinley League of the State of New York by my old friend, long a member of the House of Representatives at Washington, Senator Miller.

“All we have to do this year, my fellow citizens, is to keep close to the people [loud cheering], hearken to the voice of the people, have faith in the people, and if we do that the people will win for us a triumph for that great masterful principle which in all years of the past has given us plenty and prosperity.”

Not in Canton alone were the evidences of popular rejoicing and enthusiasm. In every city in the country the nomination was received with demonstrations of approval, of enthusiasm, and of confidence in the future of the Republican party and the country.

CHAPTER XXIX.

McKINLEY'S HOME LIFE — HIS DEVOTION TO HIS WIFE AND AGED MOTHER.

Present Home of Major and Mrs. McKinley at Canton — The House to which he Took his Wife as a Bride — Domestic Afflictions — Where their Children Died — A Home around which Sacred Associations Cluster — McKinley's Work-room — How it is Furnished — The Touch of a Woman's Hand Everywhere — Enormous Daily Mail — His Kindliness and Manliness — How he Receives his Visitors — The Charm of his Manner and Speech — Untiring Devotion to his Wife — Their Life in Washington — How Mrs. McKinley Assists her Husband — Her Tastes and Accomplishments — Her Unostentatious Charities — Hands that are never Idle — McKinley's Mother — His Filial Love — Walking to Church with his Venerable Mother on his Arm — Watching her Son's Career with Pride.

MAJOR McKINLEY'S home of to-day at Canton is in the house to which he took his wife as a bride over twenty-five years ago. Here it was that they enjoyed their brief experience at housekeeping, here their children were born and died, here Mrs. McKinley's health failed in early wedded life. After that, years of active political life passed. For nearly twenty years the Major and his wife lived in hotels, but nowhere was the spirit of home life wanting. The home in which their young married life was spent passed out of his hands, but when, after the expiration of his terms of service as governor of Ohio,

he returned to Canton to enjoy a brief rest from official life, the opportunity offered itself to secure it again. Old associations clustered around it, and so, after it was refitted and repaired, Mr. and Mrs. McKinley returned to it, soon after celebrating the silver anniversary of their marriage.

It is a modest double frame house on North Market Street, about ten minutes' walk from the Court House, which is the center of the little city. A broad and comfortable veranda, where McKinley likes to chat with his friends, stretches across the front of the dwelling, which is surrounded by spacious grounds, neatly kept and ornamented. Entering the hall, visitors upon social missions are guided into a reception room to the left, and to the right is McKinley's office for those on business bent. The latter is a large square room, against whose walls stand well-filled book-cases of polished oak. A capacious roll-top desk opposite the door is for McKinley's own use. A table in the middle of the room is covered with books, and at another little table at a north window McKinley sits and attends to his daily mail, the portraits of Lincoln and Grant looking down upon him. A telephone is within easy reach in the adjoining dining-room, and, upstairs, are the busy workrooms of Mr. Boyle, his private secretary, and his stenographers. Taste, comfort, books, artistic, but modest, decorations, the touches of a woman's hand are everywhere. Every grace of home life is preserved in spite of the enormous mails which demand attention, and the callers who arrive almost constantly, and all of whom are kindly welcomed by the courteous man whose open hospitality, even in the stress of business, puts every visitor at his ease.

He is one of the people in sympathy and in his ways.

There is no affectation about him. He sits and talks to you with a gleam of kindliness and manliness in that penetrating Scotch eye. His character appears as an open book. He affects none of the traits that sometimes mar greatness, and that appear to establish a dividing line between it and the rest of the world. He meets you man to man, looks not to the cut of your clothes, but to the depth and breadth of your thought, talks freely and without any assumption of overweening significance to his words, and he interests you irresistibly in his presence and in his speech as he has the thousands upon thousands who have listened to him the country over. This is McKinley as he appears in his office at his home to visitors.

But in all his busy hours Mrs. McKinley is not forgotten. Their home life is a tender romance. In speaking of their marriage, reference has been made to the devotion to the wife of whom he is justly proud, and of her strong belief in her husband. There is a quiet unostentatious devotion of each to the other which is the ideal of home life.

It was said of McKinley in Congress that he was either at the Capitol, in his office, or with his wife. Public life has never been allowed to separate them for a long time. She usually accompanied him upon his campaigning trips; if not, he made it his first duty, upon arriving at a stopping place to send a despatch to her. At the Ebbitt House in Washington, Mrs. McKinley's room, fitted up for her special comfort, was near his work room, and seldom, while working long hours upon tariff and other measures, did he allow a half hour to slip without visiting her room to see that she needed nothing.

In many ways she has been of great assistance to her

husband in his political life. In their hotel apartments at Washington she often received their friends in the quietest, but most hospitable manner. In his two terms as governor they gave several receptions at their hotel to the Legislature and the public.

During the past few years Mrs. McKinley's health has greatly improved, and, in appearance to-day, she is anything but the conventional invalid. Her gowns and bonnets are always fashionably made and trimmed, and her invalidism is only apparent at the second glance at her face, which shows that acute suffering has been her portion, though her personality has lost none of its charm.

Though she is not actively artistic, except in the beauty of the needlework which she does, she is an appreciative admirer of fine paintings and statuary. She is an enthusiastic attendant — so far as her health will permit — of good dramatic performances. So great is her fondness for them that last winter she and Major McKinley arranged to be in New York for several important "first nights." She is, like her husband, a great reader of the newspapers and is a close student of them, and of public opinion as evidenced by them.

Deterred by her unfortunate ill-health from actively serving in the many charitable undertakings and committees in Washington and Canton, Mrs. McKinley has performed her many charities unostentatiously and away "from the sight of men." Unable to see the poor who come to her, or to investigate personally their worth, she intrusts to some member of her family her large almsgiving. Her fingers are almost never idle; and whatever of her handiwork is not sent to adorn the homes of friend or rela-



MRS. WILLIAM McKINLEY'S ROOM IN THE CANTON RESIDENCE.
WILLIAM McKINLEY IN HIS STUDY IN THE CANTON RESIDENCE.

tive, will find its way to charitable bazaars and fairs; or into the hospitals for distribution among invalids less fortunate than herself.

Both Mrs. McKinley and her husband are members of the First Methodist Church in Canton. In Washington they attended — when Mrs. McKinley was able to be taken — the Foundry Church.

Major McKinley's devotion to his aged mother, who is now living at Canton, has also attracted comment. His father died in 1892. It has long been his custom while at Canton, to accompany his mother to church each Sunday morning. When he went to Columbus, as governor, he determined to keep up the practice as much as possible, and unless the press of public business was very great he always slipped quietly over to Canton from the State capital on Sunday mornings and walked to church with his mother on his arm. The next train would carry him to Columbus, where his wife awaited his coming. The venerable mother, like her son, scarcely knows what it is to be sick. She is a marvel of magnificent health and vigor at seven years over four-score, and she has never lost her maternal attitude toward her boy, though she watches his career with pride and has taken a keen interest in his campaigns.

When Congressional duties did not keep him in Washington, Mr. and Mrs. McKinley usually stopped at his mother's house, which is pleasantly situated on one of Canton's neat residence streets, and there McKinley has always kept a work-room, largely devoted to Congressional labor. Here can be found records and other publications collected by a busy Congressman.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN — McKINLEY IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE — AN UNSTAINED RECORD.

His Personal Appearance — Should be Seen to be Fully Known —

A Man who Works but does not Worry — His Dress — The Bronze Badge of the Grand Army of the Republic — A Man of Unusual Power — Henry Irving's Inquiry, "Who is that Man?" — His Astonishing Feats of Memory — His Faculty of Remembering Faces — An Incident at a Hartford Dinner Party — "I Know you" — His Cordial Manners and Unaffected Simplicity — His Capacity for Sustained Mental Effort — How he Prepares his Principal Speeches — His Keen Insight into Human Nature — A Champion of the Dignity and Elevation of Labor — His Profound Sympathy — An Incident in his Army Life — He Becomes a Freemason — Interesting Circumstance Attending his Initiation into the Order — His Public Life an Open Book — A Spotless Public Career — A Man of Attractive Personality and Blameless Life — Keeping in Close Touch with the People.

IN the preceding pages devoted to the leading facts in McKinley's busy career, the character of the man has appeared in his words and acts. He shines forth in these both as a man and a statesman, and all that may be said cannot, perhaps, strengthen the impression the reader has already acquired. Yet, he should be seen to be fully known. In his fifty-third year he is strong and vigorous, well preserved. Of a long-lived family, his father reaching eighty-five, and his venerable mother still living at the age of eighty-

seven, his stock of vitality has not been impaired by careless living or excesses. His form is erect, his eye bright, and scarcely a gray thread gleams in his dark hair. He works, but does not worry. A good deal of a philosopher, care sits rather lightly upon him. Trouble never keeps him awake. His dress is plain, and always of black material. In his button-hole is always seen the bronze badge of the Grand Army of the Republic, or the red, white, and blue rosette of the Loyal Legion.

He, whose name becomes upon the lips of millions of men the symbol of a common idea, of a cherished ambition, of a widely honored doctrine, he who fashions or, in a sense, creates what the masses of the people adopt as their belief, must be a man of unusual power. McKinley is such a man. Wherein does his power exist ?

"Who is that man ?" asked Henry Irving one day, looking down from the gallery of the House and indicating McKinley. "He should be a man of intellectual power."

Irving correctly judged McKinley; he found the quality which predominated in his nature. His power is in his intellect largely. His friends do not speak of him as a brilliant man but as brainy. Brilliancy is often superficial. In listening to McKinley the impression of reserve strength is received. His mind away down deep is stored with facts and information. His memory does not desert him, but is constantly performing marvelous feats, easily and naturally. Indeed, in his powers of memory he resembles the late James G. Blaine more than any other man to-day, never forgetting a face that has become impressed upon him, seldom losing a fact that he has worked for and secured.

At a dinner, given in honor of McKinley to about five hundred people, by the McKinley Club, Hartford, in the spring of 1895, the army of waiters made so much noise in clearing away the dishes that it became difficult to hear McKinley's words in the rear of the long hall. Alexander Harbison, an officer of the club, a man of large physique and tremendous lung power, rose, and, in thunderous tones, commanded the waiters to cease gathering dishes then and there, and they did. McKinley was struck with Harbison's display of generalship. Several months later Harbison was standing with a group of Connecticut men in the Cleveland depot, when McKinley, just arrived from Columbus, approached. A quick look of recognition appeared on McKinley's face as he noticed the man he had never seen before visiting Hartford, then only among hundreds of other men, and whom he was not expecting to see at Cleveland.

"I know you," said McKinley, taking the man's hand. "You're Harbison — the man who silenced the waiters."

Many similar stories could be told showing this remarkable quality of McKinley's mind. People are attracted to a public man who does not forget them, who comes forward to grasp their hands and call them by name, and his cordiality is as unfailing as his memory. No red tape was ever allowed to surround his official functions. No one ever had any difficulty in seeing McKinley if seeking him on legitimate business. This simplicity is natural, and it is an attribute that has endeared him to the people he has met, and he has spoken to more people than any other man in public life. No other man ever looked into the faces of so many of his countrymen.

No man was ever more scrupulous in keeping his word.

The manner in which he kept faith with candidates to whom he pledged his support in conventions is an example of the sacredness in which he holds even his smallest promises. He never breaks a speaking appointment. If he promises to go to any point the local committee can rest assured he will be there. In the spring of 1895 he suffered a severe attack of grip. He had promised John Addison Porter, the president of the Hartford McKinley Club, that he would be present at its annual dinner. The committees of young men of the club made extensive plans. Covers were to be laid for five hundred people in Foot Guard Hall, but when all arrangements had been made, involving serious responsibilities, word came to them that McKinley was sick. It was a great disappointment to the young men, and his failure to appear meant serious financial loss. Mr. Porter knew McKinley well, and knew how he kept his word. "He will come if such a thing is possible," he said. Only a few days before the banquet, a despatch from Ohio warned them that it was no use to count on McKinley this time, for he was a sick man. A little later a despatch came from McKinley, stating when he would reach Hartford.

"Don't worry a minute longer, my friend," was the first thing he said to Mr. Porter, when the latter met him at the train. "I'm here and will speak." He knew how the young men of the club had worried over the matter, and his first considerate thought was to put their minds at ease. With McKinley, formalities never interfere with appropriate words or acts. He is quick to see what other men are thinking of, and quick to frame his words accordingly.

But while a reserve intellectual power and singularly

attractive and cordial manners form the combination of qualities which appear most prominently to the observer, McKinley possesses another peculiarity which can easily account for much of his success in life. His capacity for hard and sustained mental effort seems to be unlimited. In a previous chapter we have noticed the patience and industry with which his tariff bill was framed. McKinley stands proved by the most severe tests as a man capable of long-continued labor. He believes thoroughly in work, that it is the only thing that can be depended upon for help and reward. His principal speeches are prepared with great care to suit his critical taste, and then that wonderful memory of his seizes and holds the product of his toil. His speeches not only read well, but sound well. His sentences are clear, vigorous, and clean-cut. He might not be called a brilliant orator, but he always moves his hearers, gets their attention at once, and holds it. So he has earned the fame of being one of the most successful public speakers in the land.

Neither is he a man of one idea, as some critics have held. His wonderful understanding of the tariff question has led some to suppose that he has devoted himself almost entirely to that subject, to the exclusion of others. On the contrary, few public men have spoken on such a variety of topics in the course of their careers. He has delivered eulogies on Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, and Logan, which all exhibit his keen insight into human nature, and his appreciation of noble qualities. He has made numerous speeches on financial topics, and upon different features of Republican policy. Many addresses of an educational or religious character he has delivered on special oc-

casions. The interests of the laborer he has not ignored, and often has he raised his voice in defense of the dignity and elevation of labor. He is convinced that the working-man should receive good wages and should be able to benefit his neighbor, the tailor, by wearing good clothes, and so on all along the line.

McKinley has not only a deep sympathy for sufferers, but a profound respect for those who, by word or act, seek to cheer or help the suffering. Shortly before he was mustered out of army service, he was passing through a hospital with one of the regimental surgeons, and he noticed that the surgeon and some of the Confederate wounded were very friendly. He asked what bond of sympathy existed between the surgeon and the rebel prisoners, and was told that they were brother Masons. He was so impressed with the friendly sentiment that he desired to join the order. He received his degree at the hands of a Confederate Master of Hiram Lodge, Winchester, Virginia, May 1, 1865. After returning to Canton, he took higher degrees. He is a Knight Templar and Knight of Pythias.

As he is as a man, so is he as a statesman. The record of his public life is an open book. His bitterest political opponent never sought to cast reflections upon his integrity. His public career is spotless. No friend of his was ever compelled to make any apologies for anything in his conduct as a man, or as congressman, or as governor of Ohio.

As a public man he embodies the patriotic and progressive spirit of Americanism. He is popular with those who believe that there is no country better than ours. He

is less popular in Europe. His policy has been to make every effort to build up the prosperity of this country, whether it affected foreign countries or not. The home market is more desirable than foreign markets. The doctrine of protection is a deep conviction with him — never in his career has he lost faith in it. He believes it is the American system and the best system, developing American resources, quickening American enterprise, fostering American greatness, upholding the American flag. Believing in it so thoroughly, considering protection an inalienable right granted by the Constitution, because in it lies the power to produce happiness, he entered into a study of the principle that he might defend it from its enemies here and abroad. Thus has he come to personify the policy. He is pre-eminently the representative of the cause of industrial reconstruction. Nothing has been able to divert the popular attention from McKinley as the representative of this idea.

No man is worthier of the presidency, and for this reason his success has been irresistible. The people know him as a man of attractive personality and blameless life, a gallant soldier in the war, a conspicuous leader in national affairs, a strong debater, a popular orator, a trained law-maker, a man of intellectual strength, even temper, rare insight, sound judgment, and stainless honor. He is one who always keeps in close touch with the people, and they have stood by him. He stands by them.

LIFE OF GARRET A. HOBART,

REPUBLICAN VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE OF 1896.

CHAPTER XXXI.

GARRET A. HOBART—A NATIVE NEW JERSEY MAN—
MAKING HIS OWN WAY—BECOMES A LEADING
LAWYER.

Birth at Long Branch—English and Dutch Ancestry—His
School Days—Graduates from Rutgers College at Twenty
Years of Age—Earning his Way—A School Teacher—Goes
to Paterson—A New Suit of Clothes and \$1.50 his Entire
Capital—Studies Law in the Office of Socrates Tuttle—
Friendship of Mr. Tuttle for Hobart's Father—An Agreement
that his Child, if a Boy, should Study Law with Mr. Tuttle—
Made a Member of the Tuttle Family—Jennie Tuttle—
Young Hobart is Fascinated—They are Married—Hobart's
First Law Case—Steady Progress—Becomes a Leading
Lawyer.

THE State of New Jersey claims Garret Augustus Hobart as her own. In it he was born and reared. In New Jersey public schools he received his early education. From a New Jersey college he graduated. Shortly afterwards he became a member of the New Jersey bar. He has been prominently identified with the political history of New Jersey for a quarter of a century, the leading spirit in the long combat which the Republicans have waged against corrupt rule. His business career has been devoted largely to the promotion of New Jersey en-

terprise for the welfare of New Jersey people. He has lived within the boundaries of the famous old commonwealth all his years.

Mr. Hobart comes of good stock. His ancestors on his father's side were English, and on his mother's side Dutch. His father was a farmer of very moderate means, but of considerable influence in Monmouth county, and it was at Long Branch, June 3, 1844, that Garret was born. His father's modest farm was not far from the historic field on which, in 1778, the American forces, not yet recovered from the terrible winter at Valley Forge, met the British forces, and after reverses, received a slight but important advantage. As a boy, he did what an active boy could on the farm, and what such a boy had to do in aid of the family whose subsistence depended upon hard work and frugal living. He attended the common school, and early showed the habits of industry, which in later years brought him a rich reward.

As he grew up, he manifested a marked disposition for study, and his parents determined to give him the benefit of a liberal education. This was not an easy matter, but the young man did much to earn his own way, and, when a mere lad, entered Rutgers College. Here he devoted himself assiduously to his studies. Before he was twenty he took his degree, and started out in the world to earn his way. He at once received a position as teacher of a small school at a very modest salary. His present acquaintances need to give their imaginations a free rein to conceive him sitting on a platform behind a schoolroom desk, instilling into the small Jersey youths the rudiments of spelling and the intricacies of arithmetic; but Hobart has pleasant recol-



GARRET A. HOBART.

lections of the three months he spent in this way. It was a humble beginning, but it was an experience of great value to a man for whom the future had so much in store.

It was a time, moreover, when he thought very seriously of his future. It was all his to make. No one could make it for him. He had good health, a handsome face, a cheery and social temperament, and a large allowance of ambition. The narrow walls of the schoolroom could not confine him long. He taught only three months, but it enabled him to get together a little money of his own, so that he felt ready to begin the study of law. In that direction his tastes and ambition lay.

One of the old-time friends of Hobart's father was a Mr. Tuttle, whose son had gone to Paterson, and entered upon a legal career. It appears that so intimate were Mr. Tuttle and Hobart's father, so fast their friendship, that before Garret was born it was arranged that if the expected child was a boy, he should study law with Mr. Tuttle's son, Socrates, who, at the time of the arrangement, had just left the blacksmith forge to devote himself to Blackstone. A boy it proved to be, and when Garret was graduated from college and was ready to satisfy his cherished ambition to enter the legal profession, Socrates Tuttle had become a leading lawyer in that section of New Jersey, and was one of its most prominent citizens.

The agreement between the old folks was carried out, and Garret, using his earnings as school teacher to purchase a new suit of clothes, started for Paterson with just \$1.50, his entire capital, in his pocket. He not only became a law student in Mr. Tuttle's office, but became a member of the family, for he did not have money enough

to pay his board, and had to work for it, which he did with a will and success, readily convincing Mr. Tuttle that young Hobart was made of superior stuff. Mr. Tuttle by that time was one of the foremost lawyers in the State — a man possessed of keen wit, which was always used to good advantages in his practice before the courts.

Socrates Tuttle was a man who could appreciate young Hobart's position, practically penniless and struggling for a place in the world. Tuttle's early life had been spent about the fire of his father's forge. He worked at the anvil and the forge until he became an expert blacksmith, but he never had a liking for the business. With a few dollars in his pocket he started out to make his fortune in a different way, and the year that Hobart was born, Tuttle became a law student in the office of James Speer of Paterson. He obtained his license as counselor-at-law in 1851.

When Hobart entered Tuttle's office, the latter was counsel for the Board of Freeholders, and at once he became familiar with the politics of the county. In 1871 and 1872 Tuttle was mayor of the city of Paterson, and so his son-in-law (Hobart married Tuttle's only daughter in 1869) had further opportunities to study politics, and familiarize himself with the requirements of official positions.

Hobart zealously devoted himself to the law, and in 1866 was admitted to the bar. His first efforts as a lawyer attracted no little attention, for those who heard him recognized in him a public speaker of forceful logic and eloquence. In three years he became a counselor.

It was about thirty years ago that Mr. Hobart had his first law case, just after having been admitted to the bar. It was some trivial suit before a justice of the peace. The

young attorney won the case, and was as happy as a peacock. No one then imagined the rapid strides the youthful looking lawyer was destined to make. But it was not the ordinary course of a lawyer. He always, strange as it may seem, discouraged litigation to the extent that it would be carried into court. His method of dealing with a case would be something like this:

His client, having laid down the usual retaining fee, Mr. Hobart would ask:

"Well, what is your side of the case?" And the client would tell.

"Now," he would ask, "what does the other fellow claim?"

This would also be related. Then Mr. Hobart would argue this way: "You claim this, and your adversary says such and such is the case. Now what does the difference amount to?"

In a singularly practical way, the young attorney would bring the thing right down to the merits, and then, as if by intuition, make some sort of a suggestion that would, if accepted, make his client satisfied and his opponent willing. Mr. Hobart would probably go to see the man on the other side and talk to him. That settled it. No one could resist the magnetic influence of the young lawyer. All the fight would be talked out of both sides, and the chances were that in nine cases out of ten in less than twenty-four hours the two "deadly enemies" would be shaking hands together, and be for the rest of their lives the warmest friends.

In this way Hobart began his legal career, and he has been going through life, smoothing things, making friends

not only for himself, but making friends between other people. His genial personal attention and influence have probably amicably settled more controversies than any other hundred men have done in the State of New Jersey. His entire course in life has been to make things harmonious rather than to stir up strife. It is for this reason that, while Mr. Hobart has had an immense legal business ever since he first hung out his shingle, he has actually appeared in court a smaller number of times than, perhaps, any other lawyer in Passaic county. The short and satisfactory manner of his adjusting disputes gave him more time to attend to a larger number of cases than those who were waiting around the court rooms, and consequently he made more money, and made it more rapidly than the ordinary lawyer.

Hobart was not only speedily successful in the practice of law, but in a very fortunate love affair. Mr. Tuttle, into whose family Hobart entered, had been married three times. His first wife was a Miss Winters, the daughter of a family, every female member of which was noted for remarkable beauty. Mr. Tuttle's second wife was a Miss Dickie, by whom he had no children, and the third wife was the widow of Dr. Weller, who, as surgeon of the Ninth New Jersey Volunteers, with Colonel Allen, lost his life off Cape Hatteras during the early part of the war. A. Hobart Tuttle, the only surviving child of the third marriage, is now the private secretary of Governor Griggs of New Jersey.

The only young lady of the house, which became Hobart's home when he went to Paterson, was Miss Jennie, the only daughter of Mr. Tuttle, child of his first marriage,

and naturally the young couple were thrown much together. Jennie Tuttle was an accomplished and lovable girl, with a singularly amiable disposition. Hobart was possessed of such a genial temperament and pleasing manners that it would have been strange if they had not fallen in love with each other. It was the proper thing for them to do, and they did it. They were married in 1869, the year he became a counselor. She was but a young girl, but she inherited her mother's beauty, and much of the keen intellectuality and sparkling wit for which her father had become widely famed. Hobart had become known as the handsome young lawyer of Paterson. He speedily won his way to a lucrative practice, and early displayed those qualities which have made him the first citizen of New Jersey.

When he went to Paterson, a boy twenty years old, there were less than 25,000 people in that city. There were no hospitals, hardly any streets, no macadamized roads, no railroads, and comparatively few churches. In thirty years the population of the city has grown to 100,000; it has five daily newspapers; fifty miles of paved streets; one hundred miles of macadamized roads; churches without number, hospitals, fifty miles of trolley roads, taking the people to and from their homes. In all this development, no man has taken so prominent or active a part as Hobart. He has been the leading spirit in all improvements. If anything was to be done, Hobart was consulted. In the development which has enriched Paterson and its people, Hobart was also enriched. He has made his fortune by helping his fellow citizens.

CHAPTER XXXII.

HOBART'S POLITICAL CAREER—FOREMOST LEADER OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN NEW JERSEY.

Hobart's Legal Ability and Political Acumen Demonstrated — Sent to the Legislature in 1872 — Becomes Prominent — Re-elected in 1874 — Becomes Speaker — Important State Questions — New Jersey and the Railroads — State Senator in 1876 — "The Brilliant Young Senator from Passaic" — Made Chairman of the Republican State Committee — Attention Attracted to Hobart's Political Skill — Incidents of a Warm Fight — Delegate to National Convention of 1884 — Placed on the National Committee — Made one of its Executive Members — A Trusted and Honorable Political Worker — His Nomination for Vice-Presidency.

HOBART came of Democratic stock, but he was a Republican from the moment he turned towards politics. He turned to politics naturally. He has a natural genius for it, as well as for business. In the search for an available man for city counsel of Paterson, the Republicans were not long in selecting Hobart, though he was but twenty-seven years old, and only three years a member of the bar. He possessed all the qualities of a successful candidate, and a popular public official.

He was naturally endowed with ability, energy, generosity, and bon homme such as are rarely combined in one individual. He was at once recognized as pos-

sessing a rare knowledge of men and executive ability beyond his years. Even serving in such unimportant positions as the clerk of grand juries, these qualities appeared, and attracted attention. He was made city counsel, and his short term in this office quickly made him sought for higher honors. In 1872 he was chosen counsel to the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Passaic county. This was no small honor for a young man of twenty-eight, so recently admitted to the bar.

But so popular had he become that in the fall of the year 1872 his party made him a candidate for the General Assembly from the Third district. At once his qualities as a political leader came to the front. Wherever he went in the campaign he made friends, and was elected by the largest majority that had ever been given in that district. He took high rank in the Legislature immediately. He entered at once into the struggle, which proved to be a long one, of redeeming the State of New Jersey from Democratic misrule.

In those days the Legislature of the State devoted most of its energies to railroad fights. Hobart entered at the beginning of a remarkable era in the State's history — an era in which the schools were made free, a riparian policy defined and enforced, the yoke of the old monopolies that made the commonwealth a by-word in the mouth of the people, thrown off, the corporations that defied her sovereignty brought within reach of the tax-gatherer, her system of legislation fundamentally reconstructed, great public buildings reared, and great things begun and accomplished in all directions.

Democratic councils had been dominated for years by a coterie of men usually called "The State House Ring." But

the affairs of the State were really controlled by the Camden and Amboy Company, which, in the early days of railroad construction had been fostered by the State for the purpose of securing railroad communication, but which gradually grew to be an arrogant monopoly. It soon came to be recognized as the power behind the throne in the control of all the affairs of the Commonwealth. It went into the counties, picked out its own nominees for places in the Senate and Assembly, and secured their election to the seats for which they stood. The ambitious politician, hopeful for public honors, had first to make his peace with this rapidly-growing monopoly and to secure its favor and consent to his canvass. Such a thing as a candidate announcing his opposition to the railroad company and surviving the election was almost unheard of in State politics. Once in a while a man, permitted to reach a seat on the assumption that he would be favorable to its schemes, would show a disposition to curb its greedy reach for power. With its rich treasury it brought him into line with the majority of his fellows, and never failed to punish him for his temerity by defeating his re-election to his seat at the next poll. The legislation proposed for the people was all scrutinized at the companies' offices in Trenton, and allowed to go through if the company was favorable or indifferent, but its disapproval doomed it to certain defeat. It selected the Governors of the State, picked out the men who were to go to Congress, and named the United States Senators. So absolute was its control of all departments of the State government that the State itself came to be known derisively among the people of other States as the State of Camden and Amboy. It went into cities and towns, and controlled councils and mayors with the

same iron hand. It absorbed property of great value everywhere, and taking it out of the ratables increased the tax burdens of the community from which it was withdrawn. There never was a more complete master anywhere of the destinies of a State than was this monster monopoly of the affairs of New Jersey. Its enterprise reached out in a thousand different directions, and there came a time when the State that had taken the corporation to its bosom as a child, began to fear it as a master. By the time Hobart entered the Legislature, the company had leased its lines to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and rival lines were encouraged to fight with more vigor for their charters.

Owing to a popular uprising against Democratic rulers, the Legislature which Hobart entered was Republican in both branches. The business of the session had scarcely begun before the railroad giants began to go at each other. The young Assemblyman from Paterson took a prominent part in the effort to secure the passage of the New York and Philadelphia Railroad bill, which was strongly opposed by the old monopoly. It failed, but the sentiment against the continued domination of the monopoly grew apace, and by the time the Legislature of 1873 assembled, it had acquired enormous force. Both houses were again Republican. The Senate was controlled by the monopoly, while in the House the opposition dominated. In the contest, the free railroad idea triumphed. The old Camden and Amboy idea was from that time eliminated from politics.

Meanwhile, an agitation for a change of the Constitution of the State had sprung up; a commission was appointed, and its recommendations were submitted to the Legislature which met in 1874. The Republicans were again in control

and in the House they advanced Hobart to the speakership. He took the place absolutely untrammelled by promises or pledges, something unusual in the New Jersey Legislature of those days, and was consequently enabled to select his committees and direct the work of the House with no other end in view than the welfare of the State.

Right back of the presiding officer's desk, in the State Assembly Chamber, Trenton, is the Speaker's room. Among the pictures on the walls of that apartment to be seen to-day, is a boyish-looking photograph of Garret A. Hobart. At the time it was taken, Mr. Hobart was thirty years old — 'tis twenty-two years ago — and he was there as the third highest official in New Jersey.

Those who served with Mr. Hobart have nothing but pleasant things to say about him, and this is as true of Democrats as Republicans. His absolutely spotless integrity, his unswerving firmness and uniform courtesy won him the admiration of all.

"I shall always have a kindly remembrance of Garret A. Hobart," says ex-Judge Henry of Newark. Mr. Henry was a leader of the Democratic minority in the Assembly when Mr. Hobart was Speaker. "As an illustration of his generosity to political rivals, let me quote one incident. I was seeking re-election in the Belleville district. The town of Franklin had been created, and the blame for some unsatisfactory features of the change were laid at my door. This hurt me considerably with the voters, and it was hard work to counteract the effects produced. In this emergency, Speaker Hobart wrote me an open letter conclusively disproving all the allegations made, and I was triumphantly re-elected. It must not be understood that Mr. Hobart in

any way advised my re-election as a Democrat. What he did was to give, as Speaker, a formal statement of my course in the Legislature.

“As presiding officer, Mr. Hobart was always impartial, and fulfilled his duties in a dignified and consistent manner, such as won him the respect of every member of the House.

The amendments to the Constitution submitted by the commission formed the chief topic of discussion in the two houses, and those forbidding special legislation for cities and counties, requiring the regulation of their internal affairs by general laws, directing that property should be assessed for taxes under general laws, and by uniform rules according to its true value, and declaring that no donation of land or appropriation of money should be made by the State or any municipal corporation to or for the use of any society, association, or corporation whatever — representing the essential work of the commission — were accepted by the two houses, and referred to the Legislature of 1875.

The favorable impression which he had made on the members of the House was not lost on the people of Passaic county, and in 1875 he was urged to accept a renomination. This, however, he declined, on account of business reasons, but in 1877 he again entered the lists, this time as a candidate for the State Senate, to which he was elected by a majority of 1,899 — the largest ever given by the county, and exceeding by over 100 per cent. that cast for General Hayes as President. The legislative struggle was important because it involved the election of a United States Senator to succeed Frederick T. Frelinghuysen.

The chances were with the Democrats in the legislative

contests, because the State seldom failed to assert her Democracy in presidential campaigns. She had given her vote to Pierce in 1852, to Buchanan in 1856, to McClellan in 1864, to Seymour in 1868. Only the multiplicity of Democratic candidates had enabled four Lincoln electors to carry the poll in 1860. Her failure to support Greeley in 1872 was due to the fact that he had once been a Republican, and was but the expression, after all, of the intensity of her Democratic sentiment; and when her voters went to the polls in the fall of 1876 to bestow her seven votes in the Electoral College, they tarried long enough to cast their votes for Democratic candidates for State Senator and Assembly.

But the local victory was less marked than had been the expression of preference as between the national candidates. Tilden's majority over Hayes was between 12,000 and 13,000. The Democrats captured the Senate by a single majority. The Assembly was a tie. McPherson was elected to the United States Senate. The following year General McClellan was elected governor by the Democrats, the Legislature still being Democratic in both branches, but in 1879, owing to revelations of Democratic misrule, the Republicans secured a working majority in both houses, Hobart being re-elected to the Senate from Passaic county. The Republican majority started hot-footed after the Democratic State officials. The fee system prevailed, and the incomes of holders of some of the State offices was said to be enormous. The fruition of the deliberations of the Legislature was the presentation by Garret A. Hobart, "the brilliant Senator from Passaic," of an act authorizing the summary investigation of the books of city and county officials. It commanded the presiding justice in any circuit to make


the examination, with the aid of experts, if he needed them, upon the application of twenty-five freeholders. The Legislature gave its concurrence to the act almost without debate, and Governor McClellan's signature made it law. It was a telling blow at corruption. Hobart by this time was looked upon as one of the leaders of his party. His executive ability easily won for him the recognition of active Republicans, and in 1880 he was made chairman of the Republican State Committee; at the same time he was renominated for the Senate.

The committee never made such a battle for the victory as it made that year. Senator Hobart was the leader in every sense of the word, and as the battle progressed, he displayed those qualities of political generalship which later led to his selection as the vice-chairman of the National Republican committee, and the practical director of one of the most exciting of subsequent national campaigns. He had every district in the State canvassed, and the preference of every voter as to State candidates carefully ascertained. The results of these canvasses were listed fully, and on the eve of the decisive engagement, Hobart and his colleagues knew just how many in each district and in each county could be depended upon to vote for Republican candidates, how many for the Democratic candidates, and how many were doubtful. Everything looked bright, but the railroad influence was thrown strongly for the Democratic candidate. The monopoly made the greatest efforts to defeat the Republican candidate, and succeeded in doing so by the small majority throughout the State of 651. It was the closest shave the Democrats of New Jersey had ever had. The State House Ring saw that Hobart was a man to fear.

But suspicions were very generally entertained among the Republican workers that the tide of battle had been turned by fraud. Singularly enough, a contest sprang up between two Democratic candidates in the "Horseshoe district," so strongly Democratic that no Republican ever thought it worth while to fight for it. One of these Democrats asked for a recount, but when it was found that a recount might affect the gubernatorial vote, and show frauds which would unseat the new Democratic governor, the contesting Democrat was prevailed upon to keep still. Hobart wished the Republican candidate to make a contest, believing that he had been fraudulently defeated, but the candidate, being a sensitive and modest man, shrank from the ordeal.

But the Legislature was Republican in both branches, and Hobart, having won his spurs in the campaign, was chosen to preside over the Senate. The elections in the "off year," of 1882 were important, as Senator McPherson's term expired the next year, and a successor was to be elected. The Democrats, after a fight, chose McPherson for re-election. The foremost figure on the Republican side, when the legislative representatives of that party went into caucus to name their candidate against McPherson was Hobart, and their agreement to support him for the United States Senatorship was the natural outcome of the situation.

In the Legislature Mr. Hobart had displayed exceptional ability, and had been instrumental in placing upon the statute-book some of the most useful of laws. Conspicuous among these was the act, already referred to, providing for a summary judicial investigation of the affairs of counties upon the application of twenty-five freeholders, and



another law, charging the sinking fund of the State with the payment of all the interest and part of the principal of the State debt yearly, whereby the ordinary expenditures of the State were reduced about \$100,000 per annum, which was largely the cause of the removal of the State tax, the absence of which is one of New Jersey's proudest boasts. Mr. Hobart received more votes than all the others together; the measure of this compliment will be better understood in the light of the fact that among those voted for by the Republicans were George A. Halsey, the late Frederick A. Potts, and others of equal prominence.

There were certain Democratic bolters against the nomination of McPherson, but a man of such wide and varied experience as Hobart was not the one to compromise himself with Democratic malcontents, whose motives in holding out against their caucus nominee were popularly believed to be far from the highest, and his refusal to profit by their defection destroyed the balance of power which they hoped to hold between the two parties. First the two houses voted separately for the candidates. The Senate gave its vote for Hobart; the House for McPherson. According to the Constitution, it was necessary then for the two houses to act jointly. There was great interest in the result, and the vote was taken amid breathless silence. The count of the tally showed forty-three of the ballots for McPherson, thirty-six for Hobart, and two for Ludlow.

The party became more and more exacting in its demands upon Hobart. He was recognized as a safe and guiding hand. He knew men. He knew the needs of the people he represented. From 1880 to 1891 he was chairman of the Republican State committee, and as such planned sev-

eral of the most brilliant campaigns in the history of the Republican party in New Jersey.

It was a continual battle against the Democratic forces, which had been in power so long that they laughed with disdain at all efforts to dislodge them. Year after year, however, Hobart and his associates worked with a will, until they had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy routed in the Legislature, and its power in the State badly crippled. In the subsequent campaigns, although he was not actually the head of the party, Hobart was of great assistance to the chairman of the State committee, and his counsel was eagerly sought in all matters pertaining to the party's welfare. Under the savage onslaught made by Hobart and the other leaders of the party, the grasp which the Democracy had maintained on affairs in New Jersey was broken inch by inch, until it culminated in the recent victory of Governor Griggs.

Hobart played a most conspicuous part in the campaign which resulted in the nomination, and eventually the election, of Griggs as governor. Early in the fall it was asserted that Mr. Hobart would be a candidate for governor, and to all who questioned him, the Passaic statesman, in his genial way, replied that any New Jerseyman would be flattered to have his name mentioned in connection with that high office. But it was soon apparent that Hobart was only joking with reference to the mention of his own name, for in a short time the candidacy of Griggs was announced, supported by the enthusiastic backing of his old friend, Mr. Hobart.

To Hobart, more than to any other man, Griggs owed his nomination, for Hobart entered at once upon a vigorous,

aggressive, determined canvass in behalf of Griggs, resulting in the nomination of Griggs in a convention in which Hobart sat as chairman of the Passaic county delegation.

But Hobart's activity for Griggs and the Republican party did not cease with the nomination. As chairman of the executive committee of the Republican State committee, he worked night and day, and without ceasing, for the Republican nominee, and the magnificent Republican triumph of November, 1895, was due, in no small measure, to the efficient, loyal, and energetic services of Hobart.

In 1884 he was appointed a member of the Republican National committee. As such, he earned the commendations of his co-workers, who in 1892, by unanimous vote, raised him to the place of Vice-Chairman. Quick to recognize his worth, the leaders of the party have been ever ready to accord to him an adequate reward. There has not been an election within the last decade in the Fifth New Jersey Congressional district in which Mr. Hobart might not have been the successful candidate.

There was a peculiar fitness in the nomination of Garret A. Hobart for Vice-President, that suggested itself as soon as his name was mentioned in connection with the candidacy, and made his friends in New Jersey sanguine that he would be the choice of the convention. When Hobart arrived in St. Louis to attend the session of the national committee, it was observed that the favor with which his candidacy was regarded in his own State had already extended to other States. That favor grew and expanded after the New Jersey delegation arrived, and when the national convention met, Hobart's nomination had become almost as certain in the order of events as that of McKinley.

Hobart's friends largely based their claims on the recognition due to New Jersey as a redeemed State, but really it was a recognition of the fitness of Hobart himself. He had been the leading spirit in the long struggle for Republican supremacy in New Jersey. But more than this, all the leading Republicans in the country knew him as a man who deserved the honor. For years his advice had been sought in the Republican councils. His advice was always followed if possible.

There was one exception, when his advice came too late. The campaign of 1884 was at its height. Senator Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland, who was managing the Democratic campaign, was keeping the Republicans busy. His headquarters were on West Twenty-fourth street, New York.

A few blocks above, at No. 249 Fifth Avenue, were located the Republican headquarters. B. F. Jones of Pittsburg was in charge. The labor people, who had had trouble with Jones, were causing much annoyance to the Republican campaign committee. Among Jones's valued assistants was Hobart, who was having his first experience as a national politician, and was one of the new members of the committee.

Jones, Hobart, Fessenden of Connecticut, Chaffee of Colorado, and Clarkson of Iowa were the Republican wheel horses of that battle. They held daily conferences to discuss plans to check the enemy.

It was a hot day. Hobart was in his shirt sleeves at his desk. He picked up an afternoon paper, then suddenly wheeled around and exclaimed:

"Fessenden, what's this?"

"What's what?" queried Fessenden.

"What's what! Why, here is a story in this paper that Blaine had accepted an invitation to a banquet that is to be given him by Cyrus W. Field and other rich men."

"Another Democratic campaign lie," said Fessenden.

"Suppose we nail it on the spot," suggested Hobart.

Fessenden indorsed the suggestion. Mr. Blaine was on his celebrated stumping tour and was billed to deliver a speech that day at Wheeling. A despatch was sent to him, and within an hour, a reply came from Walker Blaine. It confirmed the newspaper story. His father had accepted an invitation to dine with these men whose great fault was their money. The members of the National Campaign Committee held a consultation, and were unanimous in their opinion that Mr. Blaine had committed a great political blunder. The committee individually wrote to Blaine. Hobart informed him that the banquet would arouse sentiment against him among the masses, who were opposed to the political influence of capitalists and the money power.

The banquet came off in great style. More than \$200,000,000 was represented at the table, the Democratic papers said. The banquet became famous as the "Belshazzar Feast," and there are still many who believe it was one of the causes of Blaine's defeat.

Mr. Hobart did not attend. He sold his ticket for \$1,000, and turned the money into the Republican campaign fund. Hobart did the best he could under the circumstances, but it would never have been done if he had known it sooner. Hobart is rich himself now, and his money has been honestly earned, but he is now, as always, devoted to the plain people. If he were President of the

United States and saw a Patersonian coming into the White House, the chances are a hundred to one that he would greet the caller with a "Hello, Bob!" or "Hello, Jack!" Horses and carriages he has galore, but he generally walks, not even half the time patronizing the trolley lines, of which he is the president, and on the cars of which, it is natural to assume, he would not have to pay fare. He is amazingly democratic in his conduct. He will sit with the crowd in a circus, join with the boys at a ball match, stop and talk with a newsboy, and every man, woman, and child in Paterson knows him and loves him.


When the time came for the nomination of a candidate for the vice-presidency at St. Louis, Judge J. Frank Fort presented his name in an eloquent plea for his State, and his candidate. He said:

"I rise to present to this convention the claims of New Jersey to the Vice-Presidency.

"We come because we feel that we can for the first time in our history bring to you a promise that our electoral vote will be cast for your nominees. If you comply with our request, this promise will surely be redeemed.

"For forty years through the blackness and darkness of a universally triumphant Democracy, the Republicans of New Jersey have maintained their organization, and fought as valiantly as if the outcome were to be assured victory. Only twice throughout this long period has the sun shone in upon us. Yet, through all these weary years, we have, like "Goldsmith's Captive," felt that—

Hope, like the gleaming taper's light,
Adorns and cheers our way;
And still, as darker grows the night,
Emits a brighter ray.



“The fulfillment of this hope came in 1894. In that year, for the first time since the Republican party came into existence, we sent to Congress a solid delegation of eight Republicans, and elected a Republican to the United States Senate. We followed this in 1895 by electing a Republican Governor by a majority of 28,000, and in this year of grace, we expect to give the Republican electors a majority of not less than 20,000.

“I come to you, then, to-day, in behalf of New Jersey, a politically redeemed and regenerated State. Old things have passed away, and behold, all things have become new. It is many long years since New Jersey has received recognition by a national convention.


“When Henry Clay stood for protection in 1844, New Jersey furnished Theodore Frelinghuyson as his associate. The issue then was the restoration of the tariff, and was more nearly like that of to-day than at any other period which I can recall in the nation's political history. In 1856, when the freedom of man brought the Republican party into existence, and the great ‘Pathfinder’ was called to lead, New Jersey furnished for that unequal contest William L. Davis as the Vice-Presidential candidate. Since then, counting for nothing, we have asked for nothing. During this period, Maine has had a candidate for President, and a Vice-President; Massachusetts a Vice-President; New York four Vice-Presidents, one of whom became President for almost a full term; Indiana a President, a candidate for President, and a Vice-President; Illinois a President twice, and a Vice-Presidential candidate; Ohio two Presidents and now a candidate for the third time; Tennessee a Vice-President, who became President.

" We believe that the Vice-Presidency of 1896 should be given to New Jersey; we have reasons for our opinion. We have ten electoral votes. We have carried the State in the elections of 1893, '94, and '95. We hope and believe we can keep the State in the Republican column for all time. By your action to-day you can greatly aid us. Do you believe you could place the Vice-Presidency in a State more justly entitled to recognition, or one which it would be of more public advantage to hold in the Republican ranks ?

" If the party in any State is deserving of approval for the sacrifice of its members to maintain its organization, then the Republicans of New Jersey, in this, the hour of ascendancy, after long years of bitter defeat, feel that they cannot come to this convention in vain.

" We appeal to our brethren in the South, who know, with us, what it is to be overridden by fraud on the ballot-box; to be counted out by corrupt election officers; to be dominated by an arrogant, unrelenting Democracy.

" We should have carried our State at every election for the past ten years, if the count had been an honest one. We succeeded in throttling the ballot-box stuffers and imprisoning the corrupt election officers, only to have the whole raft of them pardoned in a day, to work again their nefarious practices upon an honest people, but to-day, under ballot reform laws, with an honest count, we know we can win. It has been a long, terrible strife to the goal, but we have reached it unaided and unassisted from without, and we come to-day, promising to the ticket here selected, the vote of New Jersey, whether you give us the Vice-Presidential candidate or not. We make it no test of our



Republicanism that we have a candidate. We have been too long used to fighting for principle for that; but we do say that you can, by granting our request, lighten our burden, and make us a confident party, with victory in sight, even before the contest begins.

“Will we carry Colorado, Montana, and Nevada this year if the Democracy declare for silver at 16 to 1? Let us hope we may. New Jersey has as many electoral votes as those three States together.

“Will you not make New Jersey sure to take their place in case of need? We have, in all these long years of Republicanism been the “Lone Star” Democratic State of the North. Our forty years of wandering in the wilderness of Democracy are ended. Our Egyptian darkness disappears. We are on the hill-top, looking into the promised land. Encourage us as we march over into the political Canaan of Republicanism, there to remain, by giving us a leader on the Republican National ticket to go with us.


“We are proud of our public men. Their Republicanism and love of country have been welded in the furnace of political adversity. That man is a Republican who adheres to the party in a State where there is no hope for the gratification of personal ambitions. There are no camp followers in the minority party of any State. They are all true soldiers in the militant army, doing valiant service without reward, gain, or the hope thereof, from principle only.

“A true representative of this class of Republicans New Jersey will offer you to-day. He is in the prime of life, a never faltering friend, with qualities of leadership unsurpassed, of sterling honor, of broad mind, of liberal

views, of wide public information, of great business capacity, and withal, a parliamentarian who would grace the Presidency of the Senate of the United States. A native of our State, the son of a humble farmer, he was reared to love of country in sight of the historic field of Monmouth, on which the blood of our ancestors was shed that the republic might exist. From a poor boy, unaided and alone, he has risen to his renown among us.

“In our State we have done for him all that the political condition would permit. He has been Speaker of our Assembly and President of our Senate; he has been the choice for United States Senator of the Republican minority in the Legislature, and had it been in our power to have placed him in the Senate of the United States, he would long ere this have been there.

“His capabilities are such as would grace our position of honor in the nation. Not for himself, but for our State; not for his ambition, but to give to the nation the highest type of public official, do we come to this convention, by the command of our State, and in the name of the Republican party of New Jersey — unconquered and unconquerable, undivided and indivisible, with our united voice, speak for all that counts for good citizenship in our State, and nominate to you for the office of Vice-President of the republic Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey.”



CHAPTER XXXIII.

HOBART AS A BUSINESS MAN AND PUBLIC CITIZEN — MRS. HOBART AND THE HOME LIFE AT CARROLL HALL.

An Able Man of Affairs — A Bankrupt Railroad Placed on a Successful Basis — His Co-operation and Services Sought by Numerous Enterprises — Uniformly Successful in his Management — A Generous Man and a Peacemaker — Other Characteristics — His Home Life — Mrs. Hobart — Handsome, Accomplished, and Inheriting her Father's Keen Intellectuality — Death of their Daughter Fannie in Italy — Garret A. Hobart, Jr. — Carroll Hall — A Model of Refined Elegance — The Hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Hobart — Their Charities.


ALTHOUGH Hobart entered active life as a lawyer, and, while much of his time was occupied with politics, his abilities as a business man demanded a wider field than either the law or politics afforded. His genius for business developed early, and he was still a young man when his aid and influence were sought, both in the management of important enterprises and in the straightening out of difficult undertakings that had come to grief for lack of just the executive ability that Hobart possessed.

A man who can successfully manage his own business is regarded as a safe man to place in charge of the business of others, especially when the others have not been so successful in their management. So, in 1874 the stockholders

of the New Jersey Midland railroad, now the New York, Susquehanna & Western, seeing the concern going to general ruin through extravagance and mismanagement, unanimously selected Hobart as the one they wanted as the receiver of the road, and he was appointed to that position by the court of chancery. He managed the road so well that in a very short time it was placed on a good footing, and the stockholders were astonished at the receipt of a substantial dividend. In recognition of this service Hobart was, on the reorganization of the company, elected the president, and its improvement continued. When it had been placed in first-class condition, he resigned the presidency of the road in consequence of the pressure of his other business, which had become to be something immense. About the same time he was appointed receiver of the Montclair railroad and of the Jersey City & Albany road, both of which he lifted out of the mire and put in good condition before turning them again over to the stockholders.

The reputation of Mr. Hobart thus achieved by his ability to put defunct and bankrupt corporations on their feet naturally suggested him as the right man for receiver of the First National Bank of Newark, when that institution went under. The condition of the affairs of the bank was very bad, and the stockholders and even the depositors despaired of ever getting their money back. It was in 1880 that he was appointed receiver of the bank, and inside of six months he had so managed its affairs that the depositors were paid in full and the business of the institution was closed up to the perfect satisfaction of everybody concerned.

This achievement attracted the attention of big capital-



ists and the directors of large concerns, who desired to secure the advice and co-operation of such a wonderful financial manager. The consequence was that he was induced to go into one company and another.

His work as receiver of the First National Bank was fulfilled with an energy and ability that drew from the comptroller of the currency the warmest expressions of approval. Such evidence of business skill as this quickly won him a prominent place, not only in Paterson, but in the whole State. If any enterprise got its affairs in a dismal tangle Hobart was the man selected to do the untangling. He had a peculiar combination of legal knowledge and business acumen, pre-eminently fitting him for a successful man of affairs. No man is connected with so many of the enterprises in New Jersey as he. A full list of them would more than fill a page of this book. He is a director of several national banks, and on the directory board of several railroads and other companies, and devotes his energies to securing the best services to the public.


A glance at the character of Mr. Hobart is sufficient to account for the success which has followed him in whatever channel he chose to direct his energies. He is a man of unruffled temperament at all times, who evidently believes in paying manifold the debt of cheery friendliness which every man owes to his fellows. No matter how overwhelmed he may be with business, he is always ready to listen to those who call on him for advice. In Paterson, where Mr. Hobart has spent all his life excepting the days of his childhood and boyhood, he is considered the leader in every project tending to the advancement of the city. The whole State is his friend. He is endowed with nearly

all the graces that go to make a man popular with his fellows, useful to the interests entrusted to his care, and useful to the State. He holds many positions of private trust, and in these he is scrupulously faithful, working for others as he would work for himself.

It is not alone in financial ways that Mr. Hobart is appealed to continually, but in other ways. If a man gets into trouble and stops to think who can best help him out, the first name that suggests itself is that of Hobart. And he has at one time or other helped so many men that no matter what happens, when others are in trouble, he generally succeeds in his mission of relief, because he must ask the assistance of somebody whom he has himself helped in former times. For this reason his influence is boundless among his own people, and really no man can be of more help in times of trouble than he.

Of the letters he receives, it may be said that Hobart never permits one to remain unanswered, no matter what its character or how trivial it may be. His mail is always immense, but every letter is read by him personally, and an answer dictated or written. If not of special importance, or confidential, the answer is dictated. If the nature of the answer involves something strictly personal and confidential, the answer is written by Hobart himself. He is a rapid writer, and his chirography is large and plain. His letters are models of comprehensive terseness, no matter under what stress they may have been written. He touches the vital point at once, and expresses it in language that could hardly be improved by hours of study.

And no matter how busy he may be, Hobart never seems to be in a rush. He can handle half a dozen different



subjects at one time, and never get them mixed up. His mind can go from one subject to another of an entirely different character with the rapidity of lightning. He can pick up the thread of a conversation on any subject from the very point where it was dropped, the day, the month, the year before. It seems as if his brain were a well-arranged laboratory, with shelves and drawers, on which were stored the memoranda of every subject he has considered, and when the time comes he can take the subject down from the shelf or from the brain receptacle, and resume its consideration the same as one picks up the thread of a continued story from week to week.

He is a great arbitrator. In 1895, when the presidents of thirty railroads selected three men to select three others to settle finally all differences that might arise between the members of the Joint Traffic Association, the greatest aggregation of representative capital on earth, Hobart was one of the first three selected.

His capacity for business is simply tremendous. He is a director of at least sixty different companies, and his memory is so retentive that he can remember the closest details of each. If the secretary, for instance, were to read off a financial statement adopted at a previous meeting, and there was an error of a figure, he would detect it at once. He is the president of the Paterson Railway Company, which owns all the main trolley lines of the city. He knows the kind of truck, the name of the conductor and motorman, and every detail of every car. As treasurer of the Cedar Lawn Cemetery Company, he does not confine himself to the financial aspect of the corporation, but can tell the location of every grave and monument. He is the

president of the water company that supplies Paterson, and could, perhaps, enumerate the hydrants; and so it is with everything he is connected with, so minutely does his mind grasp everything. One would imagine that, with such a complex system of business as he manages, his brain would be all in a whirl; but it is not. When he goes to bed at night he throws away all thoughts of business as he would take off his clothes, and his head is not on his pillow three minutes before he is asleep.

It cannot be denied that Hobart was born under a lucky star of some kind. Everything he connects himself with is apparently successful. It is for this reason that every time something new is started he is besought to take stock in it, for the originators of the scheme have confidence that the magic name of Hobart is all that is necessary to secure the permanency and success of the enterprise.

It was his remarkable ability to settle matters from a practical business standpoint, rather than from a legal aspect, that made Hobart the great success that he is, that has increased his capital from \$1.50 to a large fortune. As soon as he began to make a little money he invested it, and he never made a mistake in the character of his investments that is known. The same judgment and foresight that directed his work for others guided him in his own affairs, and he seemed to know the good from the bad, the safe from the unsafe, as if by instinct.

"It is a peculiarity of Mr. Hobart," says Governor Griggs, one of Hobart's close friends, "that he never makes a mistake. He seems intuitively to know what to do, no matter what the emergency may be, and had he hours and days to consider the subject he could not reach a better

decision than he does on the jump, as it were. And another happy faculty of his is that when he once makes a friend he never makes the mistake of losing that friend. Once a friend always a friend is the case with Hobart. He seems to be able to read character as if it were a book. No man can deceive him. And so, knowing every man's peculiarity, likes and dislikes, he knows how to take him, and treats him accordingly. The result is that every man coming in contact with him is charmed."

There is a genial magnetism in the personal presence of Hobart that is fascinating. He is the most approachable of men under any and all circumstances. He is apparently interested in the caller's business, no matter how trivial it may be. Appeal to him on behalf of charity, and his heart is opened at once.

"Is the case all right — is it deserving?" he will ask, and an affirmative answer brings out a check book or a roll of bills from his vest pocket.

"Sometimes I feel ashamed of my weakness," said he recently, "but I cannot stand these appeals. Just look at this one mail. Here are twelve letters, and six of them are requests for assistance. What am I to do? I must put a stop to this some time. If I don't I will be put in the place of these fellows, and will have to go begging myself."


Mr. Hobart talked on some other subjects for a few moments, in a half-abstracted sort of way, as if wrestling with his conscience or his spirit of benevolence, and then glanced over the letters again. The subject was not orally referred to again, but not long afterward Hobart pulled out his check book and wrote out six checks for the six applicants. Only a wealthy man could stand such a drain,

for there is a constant demand on him for assistance of some sort or another, and it is feared that more than once unscrupulous parties have taken advantage of his generosity and imposed on his good nature.

Hobart's knowledge of current events and of passing affairs is simply marvelous. He seems to know everything about everybody. If some information is taken to him, he listens gladly, but when you are through he will tell you still later developments. He knows the financial standing of every man or firm of prominence in the country. The standing of every corporation, railroad, or other enterprise he seems to know all about. In regard to individuals he can tell one the standing, the peculiarities, the successes and trials of almost any man one could name in the State of New Jersey, and most of those in New York. His knowledge of all these details has frequently amazed his most intimate friends.

His acquaintanceship is remarkably wide. He personally knows all the great men of the country, and it may be truthfully said that among his friends there are about as many Democrats as Republicans. They all like him regardless of political proclivities.

With all this Mr. Hobart is the most unassuming of men. He has horses and carriages, but he generally walks from his house to his office. On Sunday afternoons, perhaps, he may be seen out in his four-seated surrey, driving through the park or the suburbs, but never alone. He is too sociable for that. Sometimes he and Mrs. Hobart may be seen on the road behind a pair of bay horses, Hobart holding the reins, and he is an expert driver, but generally there is a crowd in the carriage with him, and the carriage he likes



best will seat twelve persons. Many prominent men have ridden in that vehicle.

Immense as Hobart's business transactions are, the doors of his office are never closed. There is no Holy of Holies marked "Private," the only thing on the door being the unostentatious name, "Mr. Hobart." And that door is always open. If not engaged the visitor is at liberty to walk in, and a cordial greeting and hearty welcome that makes one at ease at once.

Hobart is always at home to his friends when he is at home himself, in his house at Carroll and Ellison Streets. Before the blizzard he lived out in Twelfth Avenue, where Governor Griggs now lives, but on the night of the big snow he could not get home. That settled it. He was not going to live in any place that he could not reach in all sorts of weather, and so he bought the house in which he now lives. This has been remodelled considerably in the interior and a large art gallery added.

This house is on one of the shadiest, most aristocratic and quietest streets of Paterson, and is a roomy mansion, and is known as Carroll Hall. It is an unpretentious three-story frame house, yet it is a model of refined elegance, and the hospitality of the popular owner and his amiable and accomplished wife is famed far and wide.

The piazzas are wide. There is lawn enough to give the drab house a setting. Big elms shade both house and lawn.

The interior of the house is superb in arrangement and decoration. In the music room alone the paintings which hide the walls make up a notable collection. The library is a model of comfort. It is Hobart's favorite room. It

is there his friends find him. The front door of his house is always open. There you have one of the secrets of the man's popularity. He is not formal. He has always been accessible.

Mrs. Hobart is a decidedly fine-looking woman of medium height, with dark hair and eyes. Without sacrificing her dignity she is of a merry, mischievous disposition, bright of wit and ready with an answer upon any subject. She is a brilliant conversationalist, a wide reader, and thoroughly up in politics.

It has been said for Hobart that one of his characteristics is that he never makes a mistake. He certainly did not make a mistake when he fell in love with and married Jennie Tuttle. Nor was it a mistake on her part, for a happier married life was never spent by any couple, their career having been one of continued and ever-increasing happiness till the time of the arrival of the one great blow of their lives, in the death of their only daughter, in the summer of 1895.

The death of Miss Fanny, a lovable, lively, and accomplished young lady, the center of admiration of a large circle of friends, was indeed almost a death-blow to her mother, to whom she was not only a daughter, but constant friend and companion. On May 1, 1895, Mr. and Mrs. Hobart, together with Fanny and "Junior" (Mr. Hobart's only son, named after him, but always called "Junior"), and Miss Mattie Stivers, Miss Hobart's dearest friend, started for a summer's trip through Europe, sailing on the American liner New York. In less than two months Miss Fanny was dead. When at Lake Como, Italy, she was suddenly stricken with diphtheria, and, in spite of the best

attendance, died in a few hours. The grief of the parents was terrible. That of Mrs. Hobart, it was feared, was dangerous.

The grief was intensified by the fact that the body had to be left there in consequence of the contagious character of the disease from which she died. The funeral took place at midnight, in the little English church-yard, the grounds poorly lighted with lanterns, and only the members of the family present. The happy tour was abandoned, and the stricken family returned home. Mrs. Hobart remained so prostrated with sorrow after she returned to the comparatively lonesome home, that for months she was in a melancholy state, and it was not until during the winter season, when the body was brought home, and laid in the family plot at Cedar-Lawn, that the strain seemed to pass, and the stricken mother could think of something else than her great grief.


Mrs. Hobart, however, has her only son and her husband to live for, and to them she devotes her life. "Junior" is a bright little fellow of about 12 years. He has been a delicate child, but is getting better now, and rides his bicycle, and plays ball like other boys, and there is every prospect of his becoming a strong, healthy man.

The care and anxiety for the lad have occupied a good deal of Mrs. Hobart's time, and this, together with her attention to her domestic duties, and charitable work, have constituted her chief work in life. She is a model house-keeper. Her house always looks homelike and comfortable. There is nothing for mere show, but for convenience and comfort. Every chair and settee is placed in such a position that it seems to be a standing invitation to rest, every

table is set just right in the room, and there is a general air of welcome everywhere that makes the visitor feel at home the minute he has lifted his eyes after placing his hat and cane in the hall rack. All this is not accident. It is the effect of a subtle touch of a domestic woman. Every article of furniture, every picture, every piece of bric-a-brac in the house seems to bear the individuality of the dominant spirit of the hostess.

Having a large house, with no end of distinguished callers on her husband, she manages things with such a quiet system that she finds time to devote to other things, especially to charity. The names of benevolence and Mrs. Hobart are synonymous in Paterson. She is a member of the Presbyterian Church of the Redeemer, and active in all the work connected with that church. Her chief work of charity, however, is in connection with the Old Ladies' Home. She is the president of the organization, and a dominant spirit of the noble charity; all the meetings of the managers are held at her house. The Old Ladies' Home is a beautiful building, and is the home of respectable and well brought up old ladies whose relatives have all died. There the old ladies pass their declining years surrounded with all the comforts of a home, without anything that savors of a charitable institution. This, it might be said, is Mrs. Hobart's pet charity, and she is devoted to the work.

But this does not constitute her entire charitable action. She is constantly doing something for somebody. It is all done so quietly, so unostentatiously, that even her closest friends know nothing of it. Only by accident are some of these acts discovered. "If there be a poor family that she hears of, suffering for the necessities of life," said a friend



recently, "the ravens fly into the door with food. But no one but Mrs. Hobart knows who sent the ravens. A harsh landlord threatens to turn out an impecunious family. Mrs. Hobart hears of it. For some reason, unknown to the distressed family, the landlord fails to carry out the threat. Thanksgiving dinners and Christmas gifts find their way to the hospitals and orphan asylums — no one knows whence, except God and the giver. Surrounded, as she is, by every comfort and luxury herself, her heart is touched when she hears of those in suffering and deprivation, and they do not go unrelieved if this noble-hearted woman hears of the case.

Mrs. Hobart's home life is the calm, unruffled life of an essentially domestic woman. She is modest and unassuming, and likes her home better than anything else in the world. When she heard of her husband's name being connected with the Vice-Presidency, she rather shrunk from it, for she knew what that meant to her in a social way. The quiet retirement of her own home on Carroll Street would have suited her better. But her life is a part of that of her husband, and she said that whatever he wanted she wanted. Her feelings are entirely subservient to his happiness.

Mrs. Hobart is a charming entertainer. To those who remain at dinner, or over night, the domestic machinery seems to move as smoothly as a well-oiled door. There is no friction, not a false move or misstep.

Mrs. Hobart is a brilliant conversationalist. She is an expert in relating an anecdote or telling a story. Common-place gossip is not in her sphere. She can intelligently converse on a wide range of subjects; be it politics, music, art, literature, or what not, the listener imagines that she

has made of the subject at hand a life study. The picture gallery attached to Mr. Hobart's residence has few equals in the State. It is not large, but every piece is a gem, and some are the works of the great masters.

Mrs. Hobart has been much in the society of the great men of the country, who have visited her husband. She has been in Europe several times, and has traveled much in this country, from which she has attained an astonishing familiarity with different places and countries. Her memory is extremely retentive, and her descriptive powers fascinating, so that she can interest her guest by the hour by what she has seen and experienced.

Withal, Mrs. Hobart is essentially a home maker and a home lover, and is never so happy as when quietly at home. She is devoted to her husband, and the telegram she sent him on learning of his nomination was characteristic of her sweet unselfishness — "Where thou goest I will go."

The friendships of Hobart have not been bounded by political or religious lines. All classes of his fellow citizens unite to do honor to him whom they know as a plain, everyday Patersonian; a man of democratic tastes and simplicity, one whose charities are bounded not by race or religion, but by his ability to give. The subscriptions for the erection of St. John's and other Catholic churches bear the name of G. A. Hobart. The subscription lists for the Barnert Memorial Temple and for every other church of every other denomination have his name on them. The hospitals, the orphan asylums, the Old Ladies' Home, and every other charity, private and public, have felt his beneficence. He does good quietly and unostentatiously. He is the one man who can justly be called "Paterson's first citizen," and

he has earned that proud place, because, in his character and his daily life before his fellowmen, he is worthy of it.

Nothing could more adequately show the esteem in which he is held by his fellow citizens than the magnificent tribute paid him on his return from the St. Louis convention. It was directed by a desire on the part of all the people to do honor to the man who had honored them and their abiding place. Political ties were lost sight of. Democrats vied with Republicans in showing their esteem.


If politics was lacking in this handsome tribute, so, too, was every suggestion of class distinction or social division. Artisan and aristocrat, banker and bootblack, laywer and laborer — each wore the emblematic badge of their devotion to Mr. Hobart, and if distinctions do exist among the host of Paterson people who admire Mr. Hobart, they were conspicuously invisible that night. In every section of the city, in the business mart, the residential section, among the factories, in the workshop, along the main thoroughfares, and in the more remote streets — everywhere there was something to testify to the popular approbation. A bit of bunting here, a picture there, here a badge, and there a ribbon — each bore its testimony to the universal sentiment of Hobart enthusiasm.

Ten thousand people at the very least were packed in the huge armory, when the venerable Judge Hopper arose to announce that the Mayor of the city, Christian Braun, would preside over the gathering. It was a Democratic judge who made the announcement. It was a Democratic mayor who responded to the call, but in the speech of each there was ringing the same admiration for the Paterson man, who had been as highly honored.

Judge Hopper said: "During the many years I have lived in this city, I have never seen an occasion to equal this. The people of Paterson, without distinction of party, sex, or race, have assembled to honor a fellow citizen in the person of Garret A. Hobart. My duty in connection with this is very simple and plain, but I cannot help taking advantage of the opportunity to express my personal appreciation upon the honor that has been conferred upon one of our fellow townsmen, which is the occasion of this meeting. It is a great pleasure, of course, to see one of our own fellow citizens honored by receiving the nomination for the second highest office of the United States. And we are here to-night to express our personal appreciation of his character, and the esteem in which he is held by his fellow townsmen, regardless of party."

Seldom is any man given such an ovation as that accorded to Hobart when he rose to respond. When he was permitted to speak, he did so in a few words of characteristic simplicity and directness: "In the plainest words possible, my friends," he said, "I can only tender to you for this magnificent testimonial, this superb tribute to me and to the State of New Jersey, which in some degree I represent, my deepest thanks for all this scene, for all the confidence in me which you have shown.

"I would rather have the confidence and esteem of my fellow citizens, including men of all political parties, whom I find here to-night, than have any office in the gift of the people. It is only the non-partisan aspect of this assemblage that makes it possible for me to be here at all to-night, because under any other circumstances it would not be proper nor prudent for me to address you at this time.



“ Whatever I have acquired has been acquired in the city of Paterson, and belongs here. Whatever of repute has come to me, belongs likewise to your city. And so this honor, which has just become mine, is also yours. Whatever I have, whatever I shall have, is and will be one to the citizens of Paterson, to the confidence and esteem of my friends and neighbors, which I have always so greatly enjoyed. Perhaps I cannot better express my idea than by concluding with a quotation from Robert Burns, wherein he says:

The monarch may forget the crown that on his head an hour hath been ;

The bridegroom may forget the bride was made his wedded wife yestreen ;

The mother may forget the child that smiled so sweetly on her knee ;

But I'll remember thee, Glencairn, and all that thou hast done for me.

During his speech, Mr. Hobart was repeatedly interrupted by cheers, and when he spoke of Judge Hopper as his early friend, and turned and grasped the venerable judge by the hand, the cheering was tremendous.

While the paraders were forming outside the armory, Hobart and Governor Griggs walked through the streets with the crowd to his home, where the parade was reviewed, and where Hobart cordially grasped his friends by the hands. A man is best known amid his daily surroundings and by his neighbors. There is no glamor there to obscure the judgment, for he is seen in his every-day life, with no audience to pose to, and with no object to practice the dissimulation which all public men use, more or less, before the world. Mr. Hobart has always been a straightforward, candid and approachable man, and he has lived in the open,

amid the busy activities of life, himself one of its most active and busy factors, feeling for others, sympathizing with them, helping them, and doing more than his share towards the common weal.

On July 7, the committee of notification, appointed by the St. Louis convention, arrived at Paterson. The official notification was given by Chairman C. W. Fairbanks of Indianapolis. Mr. and Mrs. Hobart, surrounded by a few Paterson friends and the committee, stood upon the spacious veranda, while the yard, and the streets near by, were filled with people. Hobart accepted the nomination in a graceful speech, planting himself squarely upon the platform of his party, and lucidly stating the issue.

THE PARTY.

"Whenever there is anything to be done for this country, it is to the Republican party we must look to have it done." — WILLIAM MCKINLEY, at the Lincoln Banquet, Marquette Club, Chicago, February 12, 1896.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

REPUBLICAN PROGRESS—EVENTS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF A GREAT PARTY.

Growth of the Country under Republican Administrations — Slavery at the Time of the Revolution — Toleration of the System — British Proclamations — Slavery Preserved by a Yankee Invention — Whitney's Cotton Gin — Potentiality of Individual Action — The Missouri Compromise — The War with Mexico and its Results — Admission of California — What the South Threatened — Features of the Compromise of 1850 — The Battle for Freedom in Kansas — Song of the Emigrants — "Westward the Course of Empire."


THE history of the Republican party, since it came into existence, is practically the history of the United States for the last forty years. Since that party was organized the nation's population has more than doubled; we have seen the destruction of African slavery, with all its catalogue of evils; we have passed through a war which jeopardized the safety of the nation, but resulted in the establishment of the government on a firmer basis than it had ever known before; and we have witnessed a degree of progress in the arts and industries of our national life greater than any similar period has ever experienced.

The railway and the telegraph have been extended from end to end of the United States, and the resources of

the country developed with a rapidity undreamed of in the days of Andrew Jackson and his compeers. Manufacturing and agricultural industries have more than doubled the nation's wealth, and given her a foremost rank as the source from which the whole civilized globe may be supplied; our seaports have been filled with shipping from all lands, and between our Atlantic coast and the great harbors of Europe there are fleets of steamers engaged in exchanging our products for those of other lands. Our commerce extends to all parts of the globe, and our influence among the nations is increasing year by year.

At the time of the Revolution, which made us independent of England and laid the foundation of the republic as we see it to-day, the slavery question was not regarded as of great importance for the future. The institution had existed throughout the whole country, but it had practically disappeared in some of the northern States and was destined to disappear before many years in others. The framers of the Constitution had little fear that the system would be of long duration, and some of the founders of the republic predicted that it would altogether cease to exist within the next fifty years. There was then a population of three millions; about half a million were slaves, and it was argued that where the institution numbered only one-sixth of the inhabitants of the country, there could be no danger of its long continuance.

All the colonies tolerated slavery, but the system was mainly confined to the southern States, where it gave considerable trouble to the patriots engaged in the struggle for liberty. British governors and generals in the field issued proclamations offering freedom to the slaves, and it was



not long before the news reached the black men on the plantations, and in every other place throughout the colonies where they existed.

Thousands of the negroes took advantage of these proclamations, and fled to the British camp, where they were immediately set free and received the promised protection. They became of great use to the British commanders in showing the roads through the country, and otherwise serving as guides and spies. There were constant fears of an insurrection among the negroes on the plantations, and the movements of the continental armies in the southern States were often hindered by the necessity of providing against the possibility of such disturbances. The New England States, with a population much smaller than that of Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas, had twice as many men in the field, and the history of the Revolution reveals very plainly the fears of the slaveholders, and their helplessness in the time of war.

But the predictions or hopes of some at least of the framers of the Constitution were not realized. Not only did slavery fail to die out, but it increased in strength, and whenever new territory was added to the country, the slaveholders claimed the right to go there with their human property. It was a long and earnest struggle on both sides, but there was not the same division of parties that arose in later years.

The slave-trade was brought to an end in 1808, at least in all its legal features, though several cargoes of negroes were surreptitiously brought into the country after that time. The suppression of the traffic was thought by many to be the beginning of the end, and so it might have been

but for the invention of a northern school-teacher, one Eli Whitney.

What had the northern school-teacher to do with it ?

The South could produce cotton in enormous quantities, but the process of separating the lint from the seed was one that required a great deal of labor. It was estimated that a single person could only separate a pound of lint from the seed in a single day; therefore the process was unprofitable, since cotton at the price thus necessitated could not be sold in competition with wool.

Mr. Whitney was an inventive genius who went South soon after he graduated from college, and sought employment in teaching school. Learning of the value of cotton and the difficulty of its preparation, he set to work to devise a machine that would take the place of hand-labor. In a few weeks he completed it, and, in partnership with another northern man, began the manufacture of the cotton-gin. Great events often turn upon the acts of individuals.

An English writer has said that the feet of a pretty peasant girl, twinkling in a brook, attracted the attention of a Norman Duke, and made her the mother of William The Conqueror. Had she not thus fascinated the founder of a line of kings there would have been no invasion of England, no defeat at Hastings, no union of Saxon and Norman, no United Kingdom, no British Empire.

Perhaps, if Eli Whitney had not spent the winter of 1792 in the house of Mrs. Greene of Georgia, there would have been no cotton-gin, no increase in the value of the cotton product, no enormous demand for slave-labor, no Missouri Compromise, no aggressions of the slave-power, no

Republican party, and no civil war for the destruction or the preservation of the Union.

The invention of Whitney made valuable millions of acres that had been lying waste, and increased the price of slaves more than ten-fold in the localities where their labor could be made most useful in the cotton field. The whole South was enriched by the invention, and where there had been only a few thousand bales of cotton made every year before the cotton-gin came into use, there were many thousand bales annually turned out in the early part of the century. It was estimated that in 1793 there were about five thousand bales of cotton made in the then United States, while in 1859, the year before the war, the product was more than five millions of bales, being three-fourths in weight and seven-eighths in value of all the cotton produced in the whole world. See what the brain of a single man could accomplish !

Following the invention of the cotton-gin came the desire to extend the system of slavery wherever the land was favorable to the cultivation of cotton. The Louisiana purchase, and the addition of its territory to our own, gave the opportunity for the formation of new slave States, and naturally roused the hostility of those who desired the end of the system of forced labor.

The agitation growing out of this state of affairs brought about the Missouri Compromise of 1820, by which slavery was forbidden to go into any new territory north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. Then followed legislation in various forms and at different times; but the question of slavery was not made a distinct line between the great political parties until some time later.

The Democrats were generally ardent sympathizers with the slaveholders, while the Whigs were opposed to them, but in many of the party differences, the tariff and the question of appropriations for internal improvements were most prominent. Of course the dispute about slavery was not at any time forgotten, and almost invariably came up through an effort of the South to obtain fresh concessions in their behalf.

The war with Mexico was denounced through the North as a war for the extension of slavery, and it resulted in adding Texas to the list of slave States, but it gave in addition a large area on the Pacific Coast that was destined to be the home of freedom. The acquisition of California was one of the results of the war with Mexico, and so was the territory then and now known as New Mexico. The hero of the war, General Zachary Taylor, was elected president in 1848, and the event was due more to his persistent silence on the question of slavery in the territories than to any outspoken sentiments on the subject.

The convention that nominated him did not put forward any distinctive platform throughout the whole canvass. It was impossible to draw any positive utterances on this subject from the Whigs, the party that supported him. The opposition was divided between General Lewis Cass, nominated by the Democrats, and Martin Van Buren, the nominee of the Free Soil party. Taylor was successful by a plurality instead of a majority; some of the Southern States refused to support him, but, on the other hand, he received the votes of New York and Pennsylvania, which had always been considered as holding the balance of power in presidential elections.

The election led to the separation of many Whigs and Democrats from their parties, and their union with the Free Soil party which was every year gaining in strength, numerically, and in moral influence.

Soon after the inauguration of Taylor as president of the United States there was an excitement throughout the country over the discovery of gold in California. Thousands of adventurers were flocking to the Pacific coast from all parts of the country, and it was evident that California would soon be asking for admission as a sovereign State.

Should California be slave or free ?

The people of the new commonwealth decided the question without waiting for congressional action. A convention was called to form a constitution and organize a local government, and without any delay it decided that slavery should forever be excluded from the future State. Delegates were sent to Washington to ask for the admission of California into the Union, and the request roused all the bitterness of party politics which had been slumbering for several years.

There were threats that the South would secede from the Union, and many persons feared that the country was on the verge of civil war. The fierce debates resulted in a compromise, and a committee of thirteen was appointed to draft a bill which should settle the differences between the North and South. It was finally reported and passed after a discussion which lasted four months; the bill is known in history as the Compromise Act of 1850, and also, by reason of several distinct measures that were included in it, as The Omnibus Bill.

The most important stipulations of the compromise of

1850 were, that California should be admitted into the Union as a free state; that all the region east of it to the Rocky Mountains should form the territory of Utah without mention of slavery, and that New Mexico should be formed into a territory under the same conditions. Then it was further provided that the slave-trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia; but as an offset to this came the fugitive slave law, which provided that slaves escaping from bondage into any of the northern States should be arrested and delivered up to their masters.

This was the measure that created great dissatisfaction both North and South, and led to much bitterness of feeling. It may be regarded more than any one political enactment as the event which led to the formation of the Republican party.

President Taylor died in little more than a year after entering upon the duties of his high office, and was succeeded by Millard Fillmore. Nothing of importance occurred during the administration of the latter, but it was the calm that preceded the storm.

In 1852 Franklin Pierce was elected, and the first part of his administration was chiefly occupied with foreign complications which had no serious result. Later on came the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which threw the newly-organized territories of Kansas and Nebraska open to the admission of slaves. It was virtually a repeal of the compromise measures of 1850, as it allowed the people of those territories to say whether they would have slavery or not without regard to the line of demarkation of 36 degrees 30 minutes.

Congress and the people were taken by surprise, and if

the proposers of the measure could have foreseen the trouble it would create, it is doubtful if they would have made the venture. There was a storm of indignation through the whole North; public meetings were held in almost every village and the measure was severely denounced by all except the sympathizers with slavery. So many remonstrances were made and sent to the Senate that it looked at one time as though the measure would be defeated; but finally it became a law, and the new territory was opened to the owners of slaves. Nebraska was so far to the north that no effort was undertaken to make it a slave State, and the battle was mainly confined to Kansas.

Those who are familiar with the events of forty years ago do not need to be told how emigration aid societies were formed through the North, and how great sums of money were raised to secure the settlement of Kansas by a population that would be in favor of freedom. There were memorable events in those days, and eloquent voices and gifted pens were enlisted in the cause. Those who witnessed the departure of the first emigrant society from Boston will remember the excitement which prevailed through the city, as the little band of settlers marched to the railway station where they sang the words of Whittier which had been written for the occasion:

"We cross the prairies as of old
Our fathers crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free."

As soon as it became known in the slave States that the people of the East were determined to settle Kansas with

men and women who believed in universal liberty, a movement was begun for the opposite purpose. Societies were formed in Missouri with the avowed object of settling the territory with slaveholders or sympathizers with slavery, and scores of men went there to take possession of lands and enter pre-emption claims.

The work was done with very little pretence of honesty, many of the claimants returning to Missouri as soon as they had made their entries and filed the necessary papers at the land offices. Blue Lodges, Social Bands, Sons of the South, and similar societies in the interest of slavery sprang into existence, and the colonization was vigorously pushed in all directions.

Thus was begun the struggle for freedom or slavery in Kansas; its history would fill hundreds of pages of this volume, and many of them would need to be written in blood. Emigrants from the North were murdered by roving bands of Missourians; villages were laid waste and their inhabitants massacred in cold blood; men were placed in boats, without oars, and set adrift on the Missouri river for no other offense than that they were from northern states. Others were tarred and feathered, and otherwise maltreated for similar reasons.

When the first election was held, several hundreds of Missourians crossed the border, voted at the polls as citizens of Kansas, and returned immediately to their homes when the voting was over. In this and other ways Kansas was made to appear to be in favor of slavery; her free-state inhabitants made an indignant protest and a new election was ordered. For a time there was a serious conflict of authority between the people and the office-holders; the former

were mostly from the north and in favor of freedom, while the latter were in sympathy with the slaveholders.

The city of Lawrence was attacked and burned by an armed force from Missouri and other southern States; Osawatimie, in the southern part of the territory, suffered the same fate; and it appeared at one time as though the whole of the embryo State would be laid waste.

The troubles in Kansas continued through 1855 and 1856, and in the latter year conventions were held for the nomination of candidates for the presidency. The tariff question was of secondary importance, while that of slavery occupied the foremost rank. Long before the first of the conventions was called together, it was evident to all careful observers that great changes would be made in the positions of the parties in the impending contest.

CHAPTER XXXV.

FORMATION AND GROWTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Dissolution of the Whig Party — The "Know Nothings" and their Principles — Origin of the Republican Party — The National Conventions — Election of 1856 — Abraham Lincoln — Dramatic Incident at Bloomington — A Thrilling Event in Political Organization — Harmonizing Differences — Brooks and Sumner — The Dred Scott Decision — The Charleston Convention — How the Democratic Party was Sundered — The Election of Lincoln — The War and its Results — Recent History of the Party — The Nation's Progress under Republican Rule.

THE old Whig party had been dissolved through the action of its leaders in adopting the principles of slavery, and new parties were in process of organization. At many of the elections in the northern States in 1854 and '55, they appeared at the polls in considerable force, and in some of the States the local elections were carried by them.

One was known as the American party, and also as the "Know-Nothings"; it was opposed to foreign influence, and had an especial dread of Catholicism, and in order to counteract the power of that religion, the leaders had deemed it expedient to make a secret organization. Lodges were formed everywhere through the northern States, and

in many localities they had things pretty much as they liked. At the same time another party, known as Free Soilers, and later as Republicans, were rapidly gaining strength; it cared little for the influence of foreigners, but was outspoken in its hostility to slavery.

It is easy to see that these two parties were not very widely separated, though the objects which they sought to accomplish were dissimilar. The American, as its name implied, was composed of native-born citizens, or of foreigners who had altogether cast themselves loose from the countries of their birth, and determined to spend the rest of their lives under the shelter of the stars and stripes.

The first national convention of the Republicans was held at Pittsburg on the 22d of February, 1856, but it made no nominations; on the same day the American party met in convention at Philadelphia, its council having held a secret session three days before, and adopted a platform of principles. The most important feature of it was a plank which affirmed the right of the people of a territory to decide upon its own institutions whenever they had sufficient population to entitle them to one representative in Congress, but with the proviso that only those who were actual residents of the territory and citizens of the United States according to its laws should have any voice in forming the constitution or making the laws of said state or territory.

This was not satisfactory to the anti-Nebraska element in the convention, and after an attempt to harmonize the platform, fifty of the delegates withdrew altogether from the assemblage. The remainder proceeded to ballot for candidates, and finally chose Millard Fillmore and A. J.

Donelson as their standard-bearers in the presidential contest.

This nomination was ratified by a Whig convention in Baltimore in September, and consequently Fillmore and Donelson were the candidates of the united Whig and American parties in 1856.

The Republicans held a convention in Philadelphia on the 17th of June and nominated John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton. The platform adopted on this occasion declared emphatically the hostility of the convention to slavery and polygamy, the "twin relics of barbarism," which it was the right and duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories.

It further denied the right of any territorial legislature to establish slavery in any form, as long as the Constitution of the United States remained in force. The work of the convention was enthusiastically received throughout the North, and the canvass for Fremont and Dayton will long be remembered by those who took part in it.

The Democrats in their convention, on the 2d of June, nominated James Buchanan and John C. Breckenridge, and adopted a platform in which was maintained the right of the territories to choose for themselves whether they should have slavery or not. The elections of Pennsylvania and Indiana in October showed that the Democrats were pretty certain to win in the presidential contest, but the opposition showed more strength than it had been credited with by the Democrats.

Fillmore only carried the single state of Maryland, while the Republicans were successful in New York, all the New England states, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and

Iowa, thus giving their candidates 114 electoral votes. The Democrats were victorious in all the slave States except Maryland, and all the other northern States which did not go for Fremont; the total popular votes were as follows:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Buchanan, | . | . | . | . | . | 1,838,169 |
| Fremont, | . | . | . | . | . | 1,341,264 |
| Fillmore, | . | . | . | . | . | 874,534 |

It will be seen that the Democrats only won the election by a plurality, as they lacked 377,629 votes of a majority. But a miss is as good as a mile in politics as in anything else, and Buchanan had a clear majority of 60 electoral votes over his opponents.

In this election the American party did not manifest the strength which many of its supporters had confidently looked for, and it became evident that a large number of its constituents had voted with the Republicans. They realized that there were foreigners and foreigners; there were those who came here only for a brief sojourn, or retaining all their old-world prejudices, and others who came intending to reside here and become citizens in every sense of the word. The most intelligent of the foreigners were in favor of freedom, and they naturally turned to the Republicans as their best friends; the hostility to foreign influences did not always make fine discriminations, and a good many of the adopted citizens could not be induced to enroll themselves under the banners of the American party, though they were in general sympathy with its principles.

The Republican party had its beginning in the northwest, and after the presidential contest of 1856 there was a

cordial union between many of the foreign-born citizens and the "Americans." The movement had begun before this time, but had not made much progress on account of the prejudices just stated; for a good many years the Democracy had managed to control a large part of the foreigners by the attraction of its name, and even at the present time it retains many voters of Hibernian origin in the large cities of the North and South. But the Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes were not disposed to cast their lot with a party that favored human oppression, and when they saw the new organization on the basis of universal liberty they were not slow to join it. A leader was wanted for the new party, and he was found in the person of Abraham Lincoln.

And here is a bit of local history which deserves a place in our record. We quote from Arnold's "Lincoln and Slavery," page 93.

"A convention of the people of Illinois was called at Bloomington, in May, 1856, to appoint delegates to the national convention which was to meet at Philadelphia in June, to nominate candidates for president and vice-president. The Free Soil Democrats, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, Whigs, Americans, and liberty men of Illinois, and of all nationalities were brought together at this convention, and mainly through the influence of Mr. Lincoln, united on the broad platform of the Declaration of Independence, and hostility to the extension of slavery.

"Great difficulty was found in laying down a satisfactory platform of principles; finally, after much controversy and discussion, with no satisfactory result, Mr. Lincoln, who was not present, was sent for by the committee on resolu-

tions, and he solved the difficulty by suggesting that all could unite on the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and hostility to the extension of slavery. This suggestion was immediately accepted. 'Let us,' said he, 'in building our new party, plant ourselves on the rock of the Declaration of Independence, and the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against us.' The convention thereupon resolved:

"That all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that the object of government is to secure these rights to all persons within its jurisdiction. This, and hostility to slavery, and a determination to resist its further extension, was the substance of the platform adopted. Thus was organized the party that revolutionized the Democratic State of Illinois against the powerful influence of Douglas, and ultimately elected Mr. Lincoln to the presidency."

At the convention in Philadelphia there was the same difficulty in overcoming the differences between the various elements, and the platform was substantially the same as the one in Illinois. But it needed a little more time to cement the union between them, and in this respect fortune favored the new party through the blunders of the old. History is said to repeat itself, and the Democratic party of to-day is not above giving aid to its opponents through its own mistakes.

During the year a brutal attack was made upon Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, by Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina. Sumner had made a speech on the Kansas question in which he spoke severely of Butler, a relative of Brooks. The latter came to the defense of his

kinsman by striking Mr. Sumner with a cane while he was seated at his desk, and wholly unaware of his assailant's presence. Mr. Sumner was beaten until he was insensible and several friends of Brooks stood by to prevent interference with the latter's brutality.

The cowardly act of Brooks was applauded through the South, and the would-be assassin was for a time a hero among his own people. This event roused the people of the North more than any other single occurrence of the year, and showed that slavery was justly to be considered the sum of all villainies. The House of Representatives, of which Brooks was a member, did not see fit to expel him, but contented itself with a vote of censure.

In the beginning of Buchanan's administration the famous Dred Scott decision was pronounced by Chief Justice Taney, to the effect that no person whose ancestors had been imported to this country and sold as slaves had any right to sue in a court of the United States; in other words, no person who had been a slave or was descended from a slave had any right of citizenship. The learned judge decided that our Revolutionary fathers in the Declaration of Independence regarded the black men "as so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," and that "they were never thought or spoken of except as property." He further declared that the Missouri Compromise Act, and all other acts restricting slavery, were unconstitutional, and that neither Congress nor local legislatures had any right to legislate for the restriction of slavery.

Mr. Buchanan had predicted that this decision would settle the question of slavery, speedily and finally. Its ef-

fect was to make the agitation greater than ever and rouse the spirit of hostility in the North.

One of the results of this excitement was the raid of John Brown, in Virginia, a clear violation of the laws of the State for which the leader was executed on the scaffold. The southern States became alarmed, not only at the occurrence itself, but at the open sympathy which was manifested through the North for John Brown's detestation of slavery. Many good citizens, while knowing the act to be unjustifiable according to the laws of the land, realized that the hero of Harper's Ferry had suffered much, and his work was the natural outcome of his experience.

From 1856 to 1860 the various elements opposed to Democracy and the slave-power had been uniting, and at the same time the Democrats had followed a course that was not calculated to unite them firmly. The elections in 1859 showed that the Republican party had gained greatly since the last contest for the presidency, and the days of the slave-power were numbered. The leaders of the slaveholders saw there was no chance of their electing the man of their choice, and they proceeded to plot for the dissolution of the Union by first dissolving the Democratic party.

It was their plan to make use of a Republican victory by declaring that the President thus elected was a sectional one, opposed to the institution of slavery, and therefore dangerous as the head of the nation; they would then be justified in withdrawing from the Union, and setting up for themselves. Only a few of the leaders were in the secret, or were consulted in the preliminaries; but it was evident that the movement for secession was popular from the outset.

The national Democratic convention met in Charleston on the 23d of April, 1860, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. Many of the delegates from the slave States had come with instructions to demand from the convention a guaranty for the speedy practical recognition, by the general government and the people, of the system of slavery as a national institution.

The convention re-affirmed the Cincinnati platform of popular sovereignty, of which Douglas was the exponent, whereupon the Alabama delegation, through its leader, Leroy P. Walker, withdrew from the convention. Their action was followed on that and the succeeding day by nearly all the delegates from the other slaveholding states, and the disruption of the Democratic party was complete.

The seceders, under the leadership of James A. Bayard of Delaware, assembled the next day, and adjourned to meet in Richmond; where they nominated John C. Breckinridge as their candidate for the presidency. The regular convention also met in Baltimore, and nominated Mr. Douglas to be their standard-bearer in the impending presidential contest.

On the 9th of May, a small party, claiming to represent the Constitution and the Union (founded on the ruins of the American party), nominated John Bell of Tennessee, and on the 16th of the same month, the Republican convention met in the famous wigwam at Chicago. A platform, of which the main feature was open hostility to slavery, was adopted, and, on the 19th of that month, Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin were chosen as the candidates for the two great offices for which there was to

be a struggle with most momentous consequences, as was shown by subsequent events.

Four parties were thus in the field, but only two of them represented tangible interests, and met face to face in battle. These were the pro-slavery wing of the Democracy, and the Republican party, now clearly defined as the opponent of slavery, and all that it represented.

The contest was active throughout the country, but the hopeless division in the Democracy enabled the Republicans to carry every free State except New Jersey. Mr. Lincoln received 180 electoral votes against 123 of all others, the latter being given as follows: Breckinridge 72, Bell 39, and Douglas 12.

In the popular vote Mr. Lincoln received 976,163 less than all his opponents, and thus gave occasion for the cry that he would be a usurper of the presidential office, as he had not received a majority of the votes cast at the election. It will be remembered that Taylor and Buchanan were elected in just the same manner, but the Democrats never urged that either of them should decline the honors of being chief of the nation on that account.

Thus was elected the first Republican President, and the time between his election and inauguration was used to good advantage by the leaders of the secession movement. The events that followed were too numerous to be recapitulated here,—too numerous to permit even the briefest history.

Out of the triumph of the Republican party in 1860 grew the war which was waged on one side for the destruction of the Union, and on the other for its preservation. It was a war which has few if any parallels in history; a war

in which an entire nation was divided against itself; a war in which were engaged millions of men speaking the same language and inhabiting the same country; a war where prodigies of valor were displayed on both sides, and where countless deeds of individual bravery were performed.

It was a contest for an idea, the integrity of the Union on the one hand, and the right to withdraw from it on the other. Families were divided, communities were broken up, brother fought against brother, and son against father, in this war which had for its beginning the restriction or the extension of the privileges of the owner of slaves. As time wore on, the causes of the strife were partially forgotten. The arbitrament of the sword to which the South had appealed decided against it. Her armies were vanquished; slavery was forever abolished, and after four years of internecine strife peace was restored throughout the land.

Thirty years have sufficed in great measure, at least to allay the passions that were aroused by the Civil war, and to knit the people of the country in more friendly relations. Few of those who fought under the Confederate flag would desire to see the old state of things restored, and the rights of the slaveholder established as they were before the war.

The South has entered upon an era of prosperity such as she had never known before. She has established manufacturing and other industries, and promises to become very speedily the friendly rival of the North in the arts and arms of peace. Every year sees a more kindly feeling existing between what were once two distinct sections of the country, but now possessing a common interest.

From 1860 to 1884 the Republican party uninterrupt-

edly held control of the presidential chair, and administered the affairs of the executive branch of the national government. Under it the country was prosperous, its population and wealth greatly increased, new channels of trade and industry were opened, and railways were extended across the continent to unite the Pacific with the Atlantic coast.

The salient events in the history of the party in that quarter of a century of its uninterrupted control are too recent to need recapitulation. It sought to deal justly with all interests of the whole country, and that it was successful, the prosperity and growth of the nation is sufficient proof. That it made occasional errors, its candid adherents will freely admit; parties, like men, are not omniscient, and the wisest among us cannot predict with unerring accuracy the outcome of all political or personal actions. But the party which thus successfully guided the Ship of State through a voyage fraught with the perils of civil war has ever remained the party of sound principles, patriotic purposes, and strong men, and events have demonstrated to the people that when they have given a verdict against the Republican party it has been to their sorrow.

The events which led to the defeat of James G. Blaine in 1884 are still fresh in the minds of the people. Blaine had been a brilliant and aggressive leader, but, like all strong men, he was as cordially hated by his enemies as he was ardently admired by his friends. No public man since Clay's time had attracted to himself such a strong and devoted personal following. No public man ever better deserved such a following.

The campaign was full of incidents, and the election was finally determined by an exceedingly close vote in the state of New York, Cleveland's apparent plurality over Blaine being finally fixed at 1,047. The popular vote of the country for Cleveland and Hendricks was 4,911,017, for Blaine and Logan 4,848,334, for Butler and West, Greenback and Anti-Monopoly, 133,825, and for St. John and Daniel, Prohibition, 151,809.

The Republican party retained control of the Senate, and a busy people pursued the various courses of industry with no expectation of an undesirable change of policy. While the Republican party, for the first time since 1860, had lost control of the executive department, it still held a controlling hand on legislation.

An attempt was made by Morrison of Illinois in the Forty-eighth Congress to reduce the tariff, but he failed to rally his party to its support. In the Fiftieth Congress Mills of Texas made another attempt, and his measure passed the House, but was promptly rejected in the Senate. The tide was turned against the Democrats, and the Republicans came again into full control of the government, electing Benjamin Harrison of Indiana President, and Levi P. Morton of New York Vice-President. Thomas B. Reed became Speaker of the House, and William McKinley the Republican leader on the floor.

The result was the McKinley law. What followed is well known. The Republican party had only to wait for the complete justification of its course and for the entire vindication of its doctrines. William McKinley became the man of the hour.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS HISTORY.

Preliminaries to the Struggle for Independence — The Convention of 1765 — Articles of Confederation — The "Declaration of Rights" and other Papers — The Continental Congress — Work of the Committee of Five — The Beginning of the War — Minutemen — Washington's Statesmanship — Formation of the Constitution — Opposition to its Adoption — The Bulwark of the Republic — Text of the Constitution — Views of the Statesmen Concerning it — Amendments and their History — How the Amendments were Ratified.

IN the middle of the last century the acts of oppression on the part of Great Britain towards the American colonies became so numerous as to excite general indignation. Public meetings were held to denounce the conduct of the mother country, organizations of "Sons of Liberty" were formed throughout the colonies, the popular sentiment was displayed in various ways, and when, on the first of November, 1765, the odious Stamp Act was to take effect there were no officials bold enough to execute the laws. The stamps were seized and burned on their arrival, the distributors were openly insulted, and it was determined to celebrate the first of November as a day of Humiliation.

There was a general desire for united action among the colonies, and a convention or congress was proposed. Sev-

eral colonies appointed delegates, who met in New York on the 7th of October, 1765, and remained in session fourteen days. Their deliberations resulted in three ably-written documents in which were set forth the grievances of the colonists and the rights they claimed, together with a petition that the king and parliament would redress the former and acknowledge the latter. The first paper was a Declaration of Rights, prepared by John Cruger of New York; the second, A Memorial to Both Houses of Parliament, by Robert R. Livingston of New York, and the third and last was A Petition to the King, by James Otis of Massachusetts.

The government of Great Britain refused all application for a redress of the grievances of the colonies. Troops were sent to awe the people into subjection, and not only were the odious laws enforced, but additional ones were enacted. The assemblies of New York and Massachusetts refused shelter and food for the troops that were quartered upon them, and this led to open collisions; then followed many acts of insubordination, prominent among them being the famous "Boston Tea Party," and the consequent closing of the port when the act occurred.

Another congress was summoned and met in Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. It was known as the First Continental Congress, and included delegates from all the colonies except Georgia. Again were the grievances of the people set forth, and with the same result as before. The Congress adjourned to meet on the 10th of the following May, and there was a universal feeling that if Great Britain continued stubborn war would be inevitable.

Before Congress met again, pursuant to adjournment,

it became known that the requests of the colonists had been refused, and preparations were made for the impending hostilities. Military companies and regiments were organized, men were drilled in exercises with weapons of war; the manufacture of arms, ammunition, and military equipments was encouraged, and especially in the New England States the citizens were enrolled in companies prepared to go to the field at a moment's warning. For this reason they were known as "minute-men"; their organization was encouraged by their wives and daughters, who assisted in the preparations. It is said that in Massachusetts alone thirty thousand men were ready to go to the field whenever wanted.

The war came with all its horrors. The far-seeing leaders recognized the necessity of a unity of action among the colonies, and for this purpose Articles of Confederation were prepared; the outline of these articles was submitted to the Continental Congress in July, 1775, by Dr. Franklin, with the suggestion that they should cease to be in force as soon as there was a reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies, but in the failure of such reconciliation their action should be perpetual.


No decisive action was taken until the following year, when a declaration of independence became necessary. A committee was appointed by Congress to draw up such a declaration June 11, 1776.

On the same day Congress resolved that a committee should be appointed, to consist of one delegate from each state, to draft and digest articles of confederation by which all the colonies should be bound and controlled during the period of war. The Declaration of Independence was

adopted by Congress on the 4th of July, 1776. A draft of articles of confederation was reported on the 12th of July of the same year.

The articles of confederation were discussed for a month or more, and were then laid aside until April, 1777. In the meantime several of the States had formed their constitutions and practically acknowledged Congress to be the supreme head of affairs in war, finance, etc. From April until November the articles were discussed, and on the 15th of the latter month they were adopted and submitted to the States for ratification. Some of the State legislatures made objections, and the final adoption did not take place until four years and four months after the draft had been submitted. These articles of confederation formed the basis of the Constitution of the United States, and remained in force until after the end of the Revolution, the signing of the treaty of peace, and the evacuation of the country by the British army.

It was proposed by some of the statesmen of that time that the articles of confederation should be continued and form the constitution of the nation. This was opposed on account of several glaring defects that had become manifest during the progress of the war. General Washington was one of the first to see the necessity of a new organization, and at his suggestion a convention was called for the purpose of consulting on the best means of remedying the evil then existing. This convention assembled at Annapolis, Maryland, in September, 1786, but only five States, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, had sent delegates. Owing to the small representation, no action was taken beyond suggesting the appoint-



ment of delegates to a larger convention in the following year.

The report was sent to Congress, and in February, 1787, that body passed a resolution recommending the legislatures to appoint delegates to a constitutional convention which should meet on the second Monday in May of that year. The proposal met with favor, and at the time designated the convention assembled, all the States being represented except New Hampshire and Rhode Island. Various plans were proposed, and after long and sometimes angry debates the convention referred all reports, propositions, and resolutions to a committee of five. Ten days later this committee reported a rough draft of the National Constitution, the instrument by which the country should be governed for the future.

More debates followed, and then the draft of the Constitution was referred to the various legislatures, with the request that it be submitted to a convention of delegates from all the States. It was vigorously supported by many of the great minds of the day, and as vigorously opposed by others. Eleven States assembled in the convention, and supported and ratified the new Constitution; Congress then fixed the time for choosing electors for President and Vice-President, and provided for the organization of the new government. The old Continental Congress expired on the fourth of March, 1789, and the national Constitution became the basis on which should rest the great republic of the western world.

Thus was crowned the glorious work of the war for independence, and thus was begun the magnificent career of one of the foremost nations of the globe.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I.


Section 1. All the legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.



The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant for that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments; when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath, or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Sec. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and

such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses may be sitting.

Sec. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Sec. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that

house in which it shall have originated, which shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. 8. The Congress shall have power —

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States—reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings;—and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Sec. 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships-of-war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II.

Section 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole num-


ber of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

(The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States — the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.)

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President,



and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Sec. 2. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein hitherto provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either

of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sec. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes or misdemeanors.

Article III.

Section 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges both of the Supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sec. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party: to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizen of another State; between citizens of different States: between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers, and Consuls, those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sec. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in

levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

Article IV.

Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof escaping to another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sec. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union: but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Sec. 4. The Constitution shall guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature,

or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislature of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States.

Article VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States

present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEO. WASHINGTON,
President and Deputy from Virginia.

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| NEW HAMPSHIRE. | PENNSYLVANIA. | VIRGINIA. |
| John Langdon, | Benjamin Franklin, | John Blair, |
| Nicholas Gilman. | Thomas Mifflin, | James Madison, Jr. |
| | Robert Morris, | |
| | George Clymer, | NORTH CAROLINA. |
| MASSACHUSETTS. | Thomas Fitzsimons, | William Blount, |
| Nathaniel Gorham, | Jared Ingersoll, | Rich'd Dobbs Spaight, |
| Rufus King. | James Wilson, | Hugh Williamson. |
| | Gouverneur Morris. | |
| CONNECTICUT. | DELAWARE. | SOUTH CAROLINA. |
| Wm. Samuel Johnson, | George Reed, | Charles C. Pinckney, |
| Roger Sherman. | Gunning Bedford, Jr., | Charles Pinckney, |
| | John Dickinson, | John Rutledge, |
| | Richard Bassett, | Pierce Butler. |
| NEW YORK. | Jacob Broom. | |
| Alexander Hamilton. | | GEORGIA. |
| | | William Few, |
| NEW JERSEY. | MARYLAND. | Abraham Baldwin. |
| William Livingston, | James M'Henry, | |
| David Brearley, | Daniel of St. Thomas | |
| William Paterson, | Jenifer, | |
| Jonathan Dayton. | Daniel Carroll. | |

Attest :

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

At the first session of the first Congress in New York, March, 1779, many amendments to the National Constitution were proposed. Congress submitted ten of them to the legislatures of the States, and they were ratified, in accordance with the Fifth Article of the Constitution, by the end of 1791. The eleventh amendment was proposed in 1794, and ratified in 1798; the twelfth amendment was proposed in 1803, and ratified in the following year.

In 1810 Congress proposed an amendment prohibiting any citizen of the United States from receiving or accepting any title

of nobility or honor, or any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any "person, king, prince, or foreign power," without the consent of Congress, under penalty of disfranchisement or ceasing to be a citizen of the United States. This proposed amendment was never ratified.

The thirteenth amendment was proposed by Congress in 1865, and ratified in the same year by the requisite number of States. The fourteenth amendment was proposed in 1866, and was intended to complete the work of the thirteenth. Two years later it had received the requisite number of votes in its favor to make it a part of the Constitution.

The fifteenth amendment was submitted to the legislatures of the States by resolution of Congress in February, 1869, and ratified by the necessary number of States in the early part of 1870. One State, New Jersey, ratified it nearly a year after the proclamation of the Secretary of State announcing that it had become a part of the Constitution.

AMENDMENTS.

Article I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III.

No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

Article V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Article VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX.

The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Article XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

Article XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the number shall be necessary to a

choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Article XIII.

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or in any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIV.

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

Sec. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; but when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State (being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States), or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Sec. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector, or President, or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid

or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Sec. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties, for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned; but neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss of or emancipation of any slave. But all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Sec. 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Article XV.

Section 1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES — SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION.

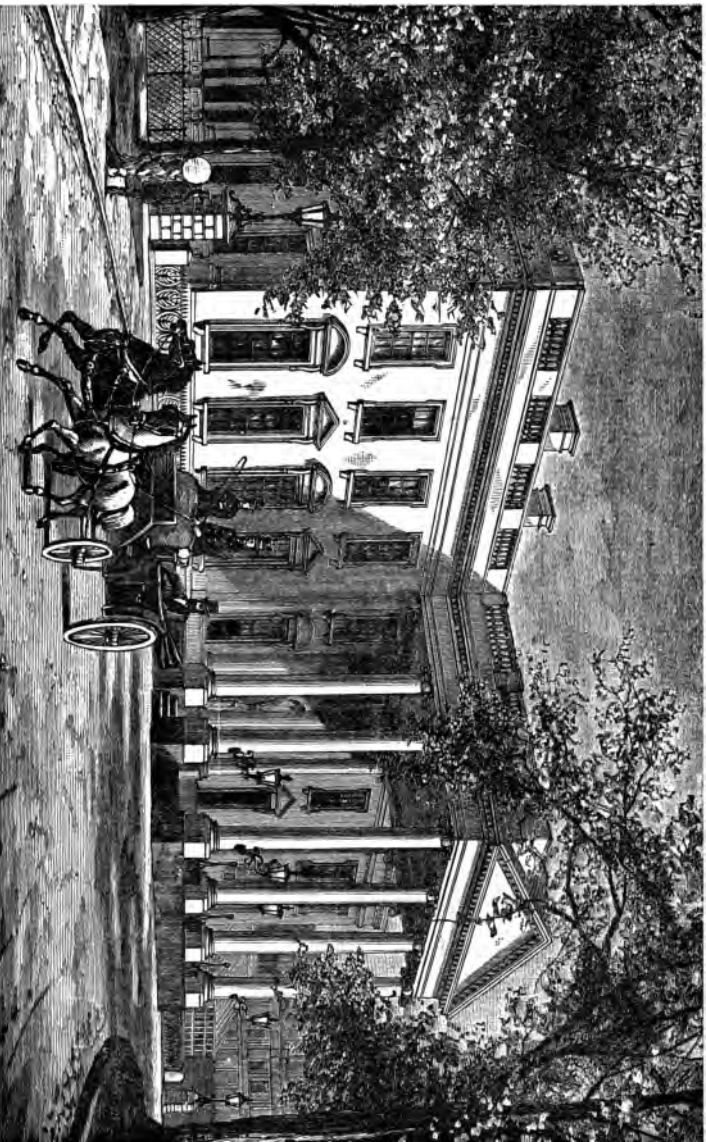
His Remarkable Modesty — Opposed to Slavery although a Slave-Holder — The Country Bordering on Anarchy — Quarrels between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists — Not a Partisan Himself — His Virtues Derived from His Mother — Mount Vernon an Inheritance from His Brother — His Sense of Justice — Love of Truth and Personal Honor — Farewell Address to His Army — His Admirably Balanced Character — Washington's Cabinet — Welcomes His Retirement to Private Life.

ALTHOUGH six years elapsed between the resignation of George Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the continental army and his inauguration as first President of the United States, there was never any doubt in the minds of the mass of his fellow-countrymen that, whatever form the new executive office might take, he would be called upon to fill it.

No American has ever been so distinctly the first citizen of his country, albeit he was at the time the central figure of a group of men more remarkable as a group, perhaps, than any the nation has since produced. His successors, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, were his contemporaries, co-laborers, and friends

in the difficult initial years of national life; and he had beside, to aid in his cabinet counsels, men of such distinguished ability as Alexander Hamilton of New York, General Henry Knox of Massachusetts, and Edmund Randolph of Virginia. But the power which made Washington pre-eminently the leader, resulted from the extraordinary equipoise of the traits of his character. A better-balanced man has seldom been born; and everywhere, and under all circumstances, this peculiar evenness made him superior in action to men whose purely intellectual qualities were greater than his. To his strength of character was principally due Washington's grand success; for he had no unusual advantages in his childhood and youth to open to him an easy road to fame.

Born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, February 22, 1732, George was the second and younger son of Augustine Washington and Mary Ball, his second wife. Augustine Washington was a man of considerable landed property, as were most of the Virginia country gentlemen. As the laws of primogeniture were yet in force at that period, his elder son, Lawrence, received far more benefit from his father's means than did George, whose sole education was gained in the neighboring schools, consisting mainly of the three essentials, reading, writing, and arithmetic. To these, he himself contrived to add bookkeeping and surveying, for which he had a special aptitude, and which, later in life, served him in excellent stead. All the anecdotes of his childhood and youth show that he early developed the keen sense of justice, the high regard for truth and deep sense of personal honor which distinguished him until his death. As a lad, he was a noted athlete, a bold



MAIN APPROACH TO THE WHITE HOUSE FROM PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

and graceful rider, and did well whatever he undertook. His father, Augustine Washington, died when George was nine years old, leaving the estate of Mount Vernon, on the Potomac river, to the elder son Lawrence. George, being a great favorite with his elder brother, thereafter spent much of his time at Mount Vernon, so that his early, as well as his late, years are associated with the pleasant old homestead. It was at one time intended that George should enter the navy; but, in deference to his mother's strong opposition, he gave up the idea, and devoted himself most earnestly to the study and practice of surveying, which he proposed to make his profession.

It is declared that George Washington inherited from his mother — as many other great men are thought to have done — those qualities of mind and character which made him great. Mrs. Washington was a woman of vigorous intellect and indomitable will, with a strong sense of right and wrong, and a deep determination to make up in the training of her son George, so far as possible, for the early loss of his father. So well did she succeed in her efforts that, almost before he had reached manhood, he was quite fitted to take a man's part in life. When George was barely nineteen, he received the appointment of adjutant, with the rank of major, in the military service of Virginia, which, in anticipation of the beginning of the French and Indian war, was mobilizing as rapidly as possible the troops at command. For a short time, he served with credit; but was soon compelled to resign, in order to accompany his brother Lawrence to Barbados in search of his swiftly-failing health. The trip failed of its purpose, and Lawrence returned to die at Mount Vernon in the following

year, 1752. In the event of the death of his infant daughter, which very shortly took place, Lawrence Washington bequeathed Mount Vernon to his beloved brother George, and it was ever after his home and favorite residence.

At this juncture the difficulties of the French and Indian troubles became so great that Washington was entrusted with a delicate mission to the French commander, which he performed with such skill, in the face of such dangers and disasters, that he became almost instantly famous. Offered the colonelcy of a new regiment, he modestly declined it, accepting the lieutenant-colonelcy instead; but, in consequence of the death of the colonel, he was soon after compelled to fill the position he had previously declined. He continued in the army, serving with ability, though not always with success, for five years, until the fall of Fort Duquesne, and the expulsion of the French from the Ohio valley practically closed the war, and gave him an opportunity to resign with honor, in order to return to the country life he preferred. Another fact, which doubtless influenced his decision more than he chose to admit, was that he had fallen in love with a charming widow, Mrs. Martha Custis, to whom he was married — the marriage proved happy, but childless — on January 17, 1759, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. Having been trained by his mother in admirable habits of thrift and management, he had already been enabled to considerably increase the property left him by his father and his brother, and during the few years of his retirement at Mount Vernon, he increased it still further. Although a slaveholder, as were all the

property owners of his day, he was sincerely opposed to the institution, neither bought nor sold slaves, and declared in his will that he would gladly manumit all of his, but for the complications which would arise in connection with those inherited by his wife, and which could not be freed until her death. So considerate a master was he that he abandoned the cultivation of tobacco, chiefly because he believed it to be injurious to the hands who raised it.

Washington was not one of those who early desired a rupture with England; but when convinced that the Colonies could not get justice from the home government, he became an ardent patriot, and was appointed commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary army on June 15, 1775, two months after the first shot had been fired at Concord. Probably no commander ever entered a war, conducted and conquered it, who was so ill prepared in every material way. His troops were inexperienced, ill clothed, ill fed, ill paid, if they chanced to be paid at all; he was himself unaccustomed to handle large bodies of troops, nor had any of his assistant commanders greater experience on which he might draw. He had to conduct his campaigns over a large area of country against an enemy superior in everything but pluck and principle. He had private enmity and public opposition to encounter; but he patiently, hopefully, and skillfully carried the conflict to a successful close. On December 23, 1783, he made a most beautiful parting address to his army, unbuckled his sword, and returned to his farming on the Potomac.

For some years succeeding the close of the Revolution, the United States were in a condition bordering on

anarchy. The country experienced a strong sense of relief when a preliminary convention at Annapolis in 1787, assembled to consider the generally hopeless condition, called another and more important convention in the following May at Philadelphia. It was at this convention that the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted; and it was immediately after, that George Washington was elected President, and John Adams Vice-President of the then infant country. In view of the importance with which the vote of the State of New York has recently been regarded in presidential elections, it is a curious historical fact that New York was the only State that cast no vote at the first election of Washington. It was apparently from mere want of interest in the new constitutional government that New York neglected so important a duty. In Washington's first cabinet sat Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox as Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph as Attorney-General; and the administration opened with brilliant promise. It was not long, however, before the interests of the Federalists and anti-Federalists began to clash in the persons of their leaders in the cabinet,—Hamilton and Knox on the former side, Jefferson and Randolph on the latter. President Washington carried himself with great tact between the opposing factions, although his personal leanings were slightly toward the Federalists; but they ultimately dismembered his cabinet, depriving him of the strong support he had relied upon, and toward the latter years of his second term despoiling him of much of his popularity. Washington had not desired a re-election,

and only consented to a second term at the most earnest solicitation of men whose advice he felt bound to take. There can be no doubt that he welcomed the day of his permanent return to Mount Vernon. He lived three years after his retirement from the presidency, and died at Mount Vernon of an attack of acute laryngitis after twenty-four hours of illness, on December 14, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

JOHN ADAMS, SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Not by any Means so popular as His Predecessor — Elected by Three Votes Only — The Country Beginning to be an Independent Nation — Commencing Life as a School Teacher — His Wife a Remarkable Woman — Adams a Vigorous Speaker and Pointed Writer of Choleric Temper — Bitter Hostility between Parties — Employed on Delicate Missions — Extremely Active in Political Life — One of the First to see a Final Rupture with the Mother Country Inevitable.

WHEN John Adams, the second President, succeeded Washington in the executive chair on March 4, 1797, he was by no means the unanimous choice of the people his predecessor had been. Indeed, his election was secured by only three votes more than Thomas Jefferson, his most powerful rival of the opposition, received. As the custom then prevailed of the candidate receiving the second largest vote becoming Vice-President, Jefferson assumed that office, and the anomalous spectacle was presented of a President and Vice-President of opposing political parties. During the eight years of Washington's administration, the United States had been gradually and surely taking on the characteristics of an independent nation, although a nation so young as not to have arranged its domestic economies,

or adjusted its foreign relations. As the sense of general security increased, factional and sectional differences were greatly augmented, because the leading men had then more time and attention to give to secondary matters. Therefore, although John Adams found an organized body politic where Washington found chaos, he also met internal dissension, intense personal enmities, and European complications that rendered the presidency anything but desirable to any one who was not a strong man and a true patriot. Both of these Adams unquestionably was.

Born in that portion of the old town of Braintree now known as Quincy, Massachusetts, on the 30th of October, 1735, he was the eldest son of John Adams, an estimable farmer of limited means. Possessed by the characteristic New England desire for education, the father did his best for the son, who was graduated from Harvard College in 1755. Like many who have become famous in the history of this country, he began his practical life, after leaving college, by teaching school, at Worcester, Massachusetts. Having exceptional intellectual power and a lively ambition, the atmosphere of a grammar school neither suited nor satisfied young John; and in the hope of opening a new path to fame and fortune, he began, while still teaching, the study of law. He had thought of becoming a clergyman, but witnessing certain church quarrels in his native town, he was, to quote his own words, "terrified out of it." He would have been glad to enter the army, had he possessed the influence to secure a commission. That being out of the question, the law seemed his only resource, and he applied himself with such energy to it that in two years he began to practice in Boston, at the Suffolk County

Bar. Before very long he had built up a practice which, as he considered, justified him in marrying, and, accordingly, in 1764, he united himself with Abigail Smith, the daughter of a prominent clergyman of Weymouth. This union, which at the time it took place promised to bring young Adams considerable worldly advantage, his wife's family connections being much more prominent and prosperous than his own, proved in every way to be most fortunate. Abigail Adams was one of the most remarkable women of the Revolutionary period. Her qualities so admirably supplemented her husband's, and her nature so thoroughly assimilated with his that the marriage not only brought him personal happiness, but it enabled him to grasp all of the great opportunities which later crowded his life. Wherever and whenever his public duties rendered it necessary for him to neglect his private duties, his wife more than made good the neglect. With less of the womanly softness and charm of her successor in the White House, pretty Dolly Madison, Abigail Adams had a strength of character and a vigor of mind that found full vent in the troublous times in which she lived. She was so true a helpmate that wherever his life is told, hers should not be omitted.

The early shadows of the Revolution were beginning to fall when John Adams was married; and the agitation of the Stamp act called him to the political front in his native town. He was appointed junior counsel with Jeremiah Gridley and James Otis, to present a memorial to the Governor and council, praying that the courts might conduct their business without the use of stamps. From that time on, Adams was continually in public and political life

until he retired from the presidency in 1801. He held many offices, beginning with that of Representative to the General court (legislature), ardently working with tongue and pen for what he believed to be the best good of the country. He was a vigorous speaker, a terse and pointed, though not eloquent, writer, and being naturally somewhat pugnacious, he found plenty of occasion for the use of his best ability.

As the difficulties with the mother country increased, and the future of the colonies became more uncertain, Adams was one of the first to conclude that a final rupture was inevitable; and as soon as he had come to this conclusion, threw himself with all the ardor and energy of his nature into the work of preparing the country for the impending conflict. It was mainly through his efforts that the important Congress of 1775, which sent a final petition for rights to King George III, also passed a bill to put the colonies in a state of defense, in the event of the threatened war. It was he also who perceived the importance of making Washington Commander-in-Chief, although he suggested it rather from the politic motive of binding the southern States to the interests of the Revolution, than because he then regarded him as the greatest colonial General. About this time, some of his private letters, full of candid expressions concerning men and measures, fell into hands for which they were not intended, and their publication caused considerable excitement, and roused some distrust of him, though not enough to compel him in any way to abandon his public career. Indeed, throughout his life, Adams' inclination to unwise letter-writing frequently got him into trouble, and finally sent

him out of the presidential office under a peculiarly unhappy cloud.

When the Revolution was finally entered upon, Adams and Jefferson were appointed a committee to draw up articles of war to govern the army; but the principal labor of preparation fell upon Adams, as did also the work of getting the necessary legislation in Congress, the latter being by far the harder part. In spite of the impulsiveness of his acts and the frequent intemperance of his speech, Adams' opinion and advice were constantly in demand, and he was ever one of the foremost figures of that important period. His really clear head and integrity of purpose were always patent, and he was called upon to fill the most important positions. He was sent to Paris on the delicate mission of securing the alliance of France for the revolting colonies; to England to treat for peace and negotiate a commercial treaty; to Holland to raise a loan for the almost bankrupt States. His services in Europe were so important to his country that he was kept there in one and another capacity for fully ten years, closing his career there at last in the capacity of Minister to the Court of St. James. Almost immediately upon his return to America, he was elected Vice-President, and occupied that office for the two terms of Washington's presidency.

During Adams' presidency, the antagonism between the Federal and anti-Federal parties became so intense, and party feeling ran so high that the President, an ardent Federalist, was led into many injudicious public acts that lessened the general confidence in his judgment, and, in connection with foreign complications, ultimately overthrew the party of which he was the distinguished head.

After his second nomination, he was so thoroughly beaten by his chief antagonist, Thomas Jefferson, the leader of the anti-Federalists, that he quitted the capital in bitterness of spirit and deep disappointment before the newly-elected Executive was inaugurated. Although, to a certain extent, Adams brought his defeat distinctly upon himself, still he was largely justified in considering that his country had made him a poor return for more than a quarter of a century's absolute self-devotion to its interests. He was as honest and true a patriot as a man could be; and united to a large mind a character, which, while it was not lovable, commanded always the highest esteem and respect.

Adams lived twenty-five years longer in retirement at his home in Braintree, dying on the 4th of July, 1826, at the age of ninety, within an hour or two of the demise of his old friend and old rival, Thomas Jefferson. Both died on the fiftieth anniversary of American Independence. Within the last dozen years of their lives, the breach between them, caused by Adams' final political overthrow, was healed, and they opened a correspondence which was to each a great consolation during their last inactive years.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

**His Pride in the Authorship of the Declaration of Independence —
The First Genuine Democrat — His Radical Revision of the
Laws of Virginia — The Final Treaty of Peace — His Views
Opposed to Hamilton's — Genet's Extraordinary Conduct as
French Minister — Love of France and French Institutions —
Jefferson and Aaron Burr Receive the Same Number of Votes
for President — Simplification of Customs and Manners —
His Dislike of Titles — His Personal Appearance and Delight-
ful Companionship.**

THOMAS JEFFERSON, the third President, will be remembered in history as the author of the Declaration of Independence, when his presidency has been forgotten. He was much prouder of having written that immortal document than of having held any office, and desired that the fact should be inscribed on his tomb. "The Declaration is equal," says Edward Everett, "to anything ever born on parchment, or expressed in the visible signs of thought." "The heart of Jefferson in writing it," remarks George Bancroft, "beat for all humanity." Jefferson was born at Shadwell, Va., not far from Monticello, the place associated with his name and death, April 2, 1743, and was the oldest of eight children. His parents were Peter Jefferson, a man of great mental and



FRONT VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE.
(Known as the White House.)



physical strength, and Jane Randolph, of direct and distinguished English descent. Thomas began at nine his classical studies, and, eight years after, entered an advanced class at William and Mary College at Williamsburg, where he was noted for his diligence and proficiency in languages. Having studied law, he was admitted to the bar at twenty-four, and was so successful that he earned the first year about \$3,000 — equivalent to five times the sum at the present time. He began his public career two years later, as a member of the House of Burgesses, where he had heard, while a student, Patrick Henry's great speech on the Stamp act, having formed his acquaintance when Henry was an insolvent shop-keeper. In 1773, he joined with Henry, and other patriots, in devising the famous Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry for spreading intelligence between the colonies. Just before this, he had married Martha Skelton, a young and attractive widow, the daughter of a prominent lawyer. She had considerable property in land and slaves, and as he also had a good patrimony, the united estate, added to his professional earnings, was quite valuable.

Elected in 1774 to a convention to choose delegates to the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia, he drew up for their instruction his renowned Summary View of the Rights of British America. This was rejected as too radical, but was afterwards issued by the House of Burgesses, and published in Great Britain, after some revision by Edmund Burke. On the 21st of June, 1775, he took a seat in the Continental Congress, and was conspicuous in that body on account of his intellectual attainments and political acumen. He served on the most important com-

mittees, and aided John Dickinson in preparing a declaration of the cause of the colonies taking up arms. As George III rejected their final petition, and thus destroyed all hope of an honorable adjustment of their grievances, Jefferson was made chairman of a committee, early in 1776, to prepare a Declaration of Independence. It was unanimously adopted July 4th, and signed by every member present except John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, who believed it to be premature. Several months later he resigned his seat to take part in the discussions and examinations of the Virginia assembly. Having furnished a preamble to a State constitution previously adopted, he spent two years and a half in radically revising the laws of the commonwealth; procuring the repeal of the laws of entail, the abolition of primogeniture, and the restoration of the rights of conscience. He was persuaded that these and kindred reforms would destroy every fibre of ancient and future aristocracy.

In June, 1779, Jefferson succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor of Virginia, and retained the office for one term; declining a re-election on the ground that, at so critical a period, the community would have more faith in a military man. He had hardly retired from office when his estate at Elk Hill was laid waste by the British, and he and his family had a narrow escape from capture. Sent back to Congress in 1783, he reported, as chairman of a committee, the final treaty of peace — concluded at Paris, September 3, 1783,— acknowledging the independence announced in the declaration of 1776. A bill, establishing the present federal system of coinage as a substitute for the British system, he also proposed, and caused to be passed by

Congress. In May, 1784, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to negotiate, with Adams and Franklin, treaties of commerce and amity with foreign powers, and the next year he succeeded Franklin as resident-minister at Paris. He became very fond of France and of French institutions, infinitely preferring them to those of England, and manifested his predilection ever afterward. His residence abroad was one of the happiest periods of his life. While there he published his Notes on Virginia, referring to commerce, politics, manufactures, etc., which attracted attention throughout Europe. He performed his diplomatic duties with marked ability; became intimate with D'Holbach, Condorcet D'Alembert, and other liberal minds; found leisure to travel in the provinces, Germany and Italy, and profited much by his opportunities and experiences. Having obtained permission to return home, he quitted Paris in September, 1789, and reached Virginia soon after the election of Washington, who offered him the secretaryship of state, which he accepted. The federal Constitution, then recently adopted, he did not approve; because he thought there were as many bad as good things in it — an opinion he afterwards materially modified.

During Washington's administration, the two great political parties of the country, the Republicans and Federalists, respectively under the leadership of Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, began their vehement opposition. Jefferson passionately combated Hamilton's funding system, his national bank, and other financial measures, and earnestly advocated aiding France with our arms, when war had broken out between her and Holland and England; Hamilton contend-

ing, on the other hand, for a strict neutrality. The Republicans were disposed to fit out privateers in American ports, to cruise against English ships, while the Federalists denounced any such action as unjust, and as likely to involve us in war with a friendly nation. The President, who had just entered on his second term, warned, in a proclamation, the citizens of the United States against carrying to the hostile powers articles contraband of war, or doing aught that would violate the neutrality laws. Jefferson favored receiving a minister from the French republic, who was received in the person of Edward Genest, and was so cordially welcomed in some parts of the country as a representative of the nation which had helped us to secure our freedom, that he tried to persuade the people here that they ought to do all they could for France. He fiercely abused the government for its want of sympathy, and even fitted out privateers from Charleston, and projected hostile expeditions against Florida and Louisiana, then colonies of Spain. He armed a prize, and ordered her to sail as a privateer. Hamilton advocated the erection of a battery to prevent this, and denounced Genest as a man determined to embroil us with Great Britain. Jefferson declared the vessel would not sail; but she did sail, and the Federalists urged that the Frenchman should be ordered out of the country forthwith. It was finally determined that a request should be made for his recall, and he was recalled. But he decided to remain; he settled in the State of New York, was naturalized, and married a daughter of George Clinton. These differences caused violent discussions in the cabinet, particularly between Jefferson and Hamilton, who carried all his measures against his

rival. Jefferson resigned his office December 31, 1793, and retired to Monticello.

At the close of Washington's administration, Jefferson was, as has been said, nominated for the presidency by the Republicans, against John Adams, nominated by the Federalists. At the election Adams got the largest number of votes, and was declared President, and Jefferson, coming next, was, according to the then existing rule, the Vice-President. Accordingly he became President of the United States Senate. The administration was very stormy in consequence of disputes with France and other delicate and difficult questions. At the next general election, Jefferson and Adams were again candidates of their respective parties, and the Republicans were victorious, though casting an equal number of votes — seventy-three — for Jefferson and Aaron Burr. This threw the election into the House of Representatives, which, on the thirty-sixth ballot, declared Jefferson President and Burr Vice-President. They took their seats March 4, 1801, in Washington, to which the capital had, a short time previous, been removed. Jefferson and his principles had triumphed at last, and he carefully refrained from doing anything to diminish his great popularity. The Federalists were treated with consideration, and they rapidly dwindled until few of them were left, and those few were the reverse of aggressive. Dress and manners became far more simple; the pompous dignity and ceremony of Washington's epoch disappeared, to give place to extreme simplicity, to which the new Executive had always strenuously inclined. The government bought Louisiana, which had been ceded by Spain to France, for \$15,000,000, and the advantage of the

purchase was great. Captains Lewis and Clark received instructions from Jefferson to explore the continent to the Pacific. Commodore Preble sustained the right of the nation in the Mediterranean against Morocco, and Decatur obliged Tripoli to sue for peace after a most gallant exploit. These events augmented the popularity of Jefferson's administration, and contributed greatly to his re-election. The year following he was obliged to arrest Burr on a charge of treason, and he was blamed by the Federalists for his apparent anxiety to procure his conviction. International questions about the loss of foreign trade, Napoleon's blockading European ports, and the right of search caused much commotion during the President's second term; but it was materially abated when he retired from office, and closed his political life. The next seventeen years he spent tranquilly at Monticello, looking after the interests of his large plantation, receiving his friends and admirers, and founding, near Charlottesville, the Central College, now known as the University of Virginia. Several years before his death, he became embarrassed by his exceeding generosity, especially in the way of indiscriminate hospitality. He breathed his last July 4th, in his eighty-fourth year, his mind and all his faculties remaining clear to the end.

No American, unless it be Washington, has exercised a greater or more endearing influence on his country and countrymen. He was an original thinker, a thorough reformer, and a genuine democrat. In theology, he was what is styled a deist; in politics, he was inimical to strong government, always maintaining that the world was governed in excess. He believed implicitly in State rights and the power and wisdom of the people. His life-long re-

pugnance to Hamilton arose from the conviction that he favored a monarchy in the United States. Many of his political views were moderated as he grew older, but socially he was an uncompromising and unvarying democrat. He disrelished all titles of honor, objecting even to the common though meaningless "Mr.". While he never made a formal public speech, he was an expert politician, and a masterly manager of men and shaper of events. He regarded slavery as a positive evil, morally and politically, though he did not favor any change in the agricultural system of the southern States. He was a devoted husband, a tender father, a gentle master, and a warm-hearted friend. He was more than six feet high; he had a muscular, well-knit frame, a pleasant face with a fair ruddy complexion, light hazel eyes and reddish hair. His voice was agreeable, his conversation intellectual, fresh, and eloquent, and his companionship delightful. His reputation has not been impaired, but rather increased in the seventy years that have passed since his death, and he will always be honored as one of the ablest and noblest of the fathers of the Republic.

CHAPTER XL.

JAMES MADISON, JAMES MONROE, AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Conciliatory Character of Madison's Administration — His Opinions on the Federal Government — His Charming Wife — Decline and Death of Federalism — Monroe's Election Almost Unanimous — His Gallant Service in the Field — Wounded at Trenton — The Era of Good Feeling — Monroe's Views of Coercion — Bitter Disputes with Great Britain Leading to the War of 1812 — The Fifth President's Successful Efforts to Restore the Public Credit — He Dies Involved in Debt — Adams' Early Advantages and Experiences — His Honorable and Distinguished Career in the House.

JAMES MADISON.

THE Madisons were among the first emigrants from Great Britain to the colonies, having disembarked on the shores of Chesapeake Bay very soon after the settlement of Jamestown. James Madison, the fourth President, the son of Eleanor Conway and James Madison, of Orange county, Va., a prosperous planter of high standing, was born March 16, 1751, on the paternal estate, named Montpelier, and was the eldest of seven children. He was sent, after a preliminary education, to Princeton, N. J., where he was graduated at twenty, though he remained there another year to pursue a course of general reading



THE CABINET ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

All Cabinet meetings are held and important national questions are discussed by the President and his Cabinet in this room



under the direction of the president of the college. His application to books was so close as to impair his health, which continued delicate through life. After returning home he studied law, combining it with other studies, theology, philosophy, and literature in particular, thus enriching a naturally fine mind. He appears to have had a strong leaning to orthodoxy — an inclination of the time — and to have been deeply interested in discovering, so far as possible, the evidences of Christianity. He might have passed years in such grateful occupations, had he not been gradually drawn into public affairs. At twenty-five he was chosen a member of the Virginia convention, but was defeated the year following, because he refused to “treat” the voters, — treating was then a universal custom in the commonwealth, — and because he showed no oratorical powers. In 1779 he was elected to the general Congress, and retained his seat for three years, strongly opposing the issue of paper money by the States.

From that time he became a most conspicuous figure in political events; he was re-elected in 1786, and was also a member the next year of the national convention, which met at Philadelphia to frame the Constitution of the United States. He warmly advocated its adoption in debate, and by a series of essays, afterward published in the “Federalist,” the joint production of Madison, Hamilton, and Jay. He was a member of the Virginia Convention, which, in 1788, after a passionate discussion, adopted the federal Constitution by a small majority. The year following he entered Congress, taking sides with the Republicans in opposition to the political views of Washington, and the financial measures of Hamilton. He was not a partisan, however; his

words and acts were moderate, all his efforts being directed toward the reconciliation of party leaders. Much attached to Washington and Hamilton, he disliked exceedingly to differ from them; but he was so amiable and kind-hearted that their differences never affected his personal feelings. His views concerning the federal government are preserved in the autograph of Washington, which contains the substance of a letter written to him by Madison, adverse to a plan of complete centralization. He is equally opposed to the "individual independence of the States," and to the "consolidation of the whole into one simple republic." But he favored giving to Congress the power to exercise a negative in all cases whatever on the legislative acts of the States, as heretofore exercised by the kingly prerogative. He believes that "the right of coercion should be expressly declared; but the difficulty and awkwardness of operating by force on the collective will of a State renders it particularly desirable that the necessity of it should be precluded." He afterwards materially altered these views, though he cherished and expressed them earnestly in the Philadelphia convention.

At forty-three he married Mrs. Dorothy Todd, a Virginian, lovely, amiable, and accomplished, the widow of a Philadelphia lawyer. She was constantly spoken of as the fascinating Dolly Madison. Their wedded life was entirely harmonious; but they had no children. It is generally supposed that eminent men desire sons, at least, to perpetuate their name and fame, though the sons of eminent men seldom distinguish themselves. The early Presidents were not fortunate in this. Washington was childless; so was Madison and Jackson, and Jefferson had two daughters only.

At forty-two he declined the secretaryship of state, vacated by Jefferson, but remained in Congress until he was forty-six. He was adverse to the Alien and Sedition laws, and he wrote the resolutions of 1798, as they were called, inveighing against all attempts to augment the power of the federal government by strained constructions of general clauses of the Constitution. Appointed Secretary of State by Jefferson in 1801, he filled the office for eight years in a manner entirely acceptable to his fellow-citizens. In 1808 he was made President, receiving one hundred and twenty-two out of one hundred and seventy-five electoral votes; the Federal candidate, Charles C. Pinckney, receiving forty-seven. During his first term, the country had numberless acrimonious disputes with Great Britain on account of her impressing American seamen, searching American vessels for deserters, and injuring the national commerce by orders in council. As no redress could be had, these continued outrages led to a declaration of war on our part — the war of 1812, as it is commonly called. In the autumn of the same year, Madison was re-elected against De Witt Clinton, getting one hundred and twenty-eight electoral votes from the slave States, added to Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The war, very unpopular in many quarters, was continued for two years and seven months, when a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent. Commodore Perry gained a naval victory on Lake Erie; a small British force ascended the Chesapeake, and by a sudden movement burned Washington; the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane were fought in Canada, and Jackson won the memorable victory at New Orleans, January 8, 1815 — the news of the peace not having then reached these shores. On the 4th

of March, 1817, he retired from public life, to Montpelier, where he died in his eighty-sixth year. His last appearance in public was in the Virginia convention, assembled in 1829, to reform the old Constitution. He was quite feeble then; he was dressed in black, his thin, gray hair still powdered, and he spoke in so low a tone that the members were obliged to leave their seats and stand near him to hear his words.

Not possessed of the orator's gift, he was yet an effective speaker through his honesty, simplicity, and directness, and wielded great influence in debate. He was universally esteemed and loved; his manners were always gentle and winning; his reputation was without a spot.

JAMES MONROE.

Like all his predecessors, James Monroe belonged to the aristocratic class of Virginia, the well-educated, highly-connected, refined, and prosperous. He was born on his father's plantation in Westmoreland county, Va., April 28, 1758, being descended on the paternal side from an officer in the army of Charles I. He was educated at William and Mary College, but had been there only two years, when the adoption of the Declaration of Independence so fired his soul that he determined to join our feeble militia against the trained soldiers of England. He went to Washington's headquarters in New York, and enrolled himself as a cadet. Our ill-fed, ill-clothed troops were disheartened, and the Tories were very arrogant, as defeat followed defeat to the Continental cause. Young Monroe was as chivalrous as he was patriotic; he fought heroically; was active as a lieutenant in the campaign on the Hudson; was wounded in the

attack on Trenton, and made a captain for his gallantry. As aide to Lord Stirling with the rank of major, he distinguished himself at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

Thus losing his rank in the regular line, and unable to re-enter the army as a commissioned officer, he went back to Virginia, and began studying law under Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of the State. After the British had invaded Virginia, he did what he could to organize the militia of the lower counties, and when they moved southward, he was sent as military commissioner to South Carolina. In 1782 he was elected to the Assembly of Virginia, and was made a member of the Executive council at twenty-three. Having been chosen delegate to Congress, and being persuaded that the country could not be governed under the old articles of confederation, he favored an extension of the powers of the body, and proposed, later, that it should have authority to regulate trade between the States. This led to the convention at Annapolis, and afterward to the adoption of the federal Constitution. Monroe formed an ingenious plan for settling the public lands, and was a valuable member of the commission to determine the boundary between Massachusetts and New York.

At twenty-seven he married the daughter of Lawrence Kortright of New York, a noted belle and social leader, and settled at Fredericksburg, Va. As a member of the convention of Virginia in 1788, he was against the Constitution of the United States, because it gave, as he thought, too much power to the general government. His course placed him in the ranks of the Republicans who were instrumental in sending him for four years to the national

Senate. In 1794 he was appointed Minister to France, but having offended the native government by his open sympathy with the French Republicans, he was recalled after two years. After having been Governor of Virginia for three years, he went to France as envoy-extraordinary to unite with the resident Minister, Edward Livingston, in arranging for the purchase of Louisiana, which embraced the entire valley of the Mississippi, and which was sold by Bonaparte for \$15,000,000. After performing other diplomatic missions abroad, he returned home in 1808, and spent two years in retirement. In 1811, he was again chosen Governor of Virginia. The same year he was appointed Secretary of State by President Madison, and after the capture of Washington, he took the head of the War department, without resigning his former office. He labored long and successfully to restore the public credit, and improve the condition of the army, pledging his private fortune to the former end. He continued to act as Secretary of the Treasury until the close of Madison's administration; he was the President's private adviser in many things, and was then chosen as his successor by the party who called themselves Democratic Republicans. Soon after he traveled through the Eastern and Middle States, in the undress uniform of a Continental officer, inspecting arsenals, fortifications, garrisons, reviewing troops, and closely studying the military capability of the country. He was much liked personally and politically; party rancor, which had been so fierce, was almost extinguished, and the time was spoken of as the Era of Good Feeling. During his first term, Maine, Illinois, and Mississippi were admitted into the Union; a convention was concluded between this country and England concerning

the Newfoundland fisheries, and other matters of importance, and East and West Florida, with the adjacent islands, was ceded by Spain to the United States.

In 1820, Monroe was re-elected almost unanimously, the Federal party having become extinct. The next year Missouri was taken into the Union after a long and exciting debate, resulting in the famous Missouri Compromise, by which slavery was allowed in that State, but forever prohibited elsewhere, north of the parallel 36 degrees 30 minutes. What is now known as the Monroe Doctrine was announced in his message of December 2, 1823, on the policy of our not interfering with the affairs of Europe, and not allowing Europe to interfere with those of the Western Continent. He said that any attempt on the part of the Old World States to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere would be regarded by us as dangerous to our peace and safety, and would be strenuously resisted. At the close of his administration he retired to Oak Hill, Loudon County, Virginia. He was afterward made a Justice of the Peace, and at seventy-one became a member of the Virginia convention to revise the old constitution. He was chosen to preside over that body; but ill health prevented, and he went back to Oak Hill. In his last years he was troubled with debt, notwithstanding that he had received for his public services more than \$350,000. His wife died before him, and then he removed to New York, to the residence of his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, where he expired at the age of seventy-three. He was singularly discreet, single-minded, and patriotic, and did more than any of his predecessors to develop the resources of the republic. He was tall, well-proportioned,

of fair complexion and blue eyes, and his face was a reflection of his pure and benevolent nature.


JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

John Quincy Adams is the only instance in the Republic of a son succeeding his father as President; he being the sixth and John Adams the second. As the eldest son, he had rare and exceptional opportunities for education. In childhood he was taught by his mother, a grand-daughter of Col. John Quincy, and a woman of superior mind. When but eleven, he went to France with his father, and attended school in Paris, making much progress in the native language and other studies. Two years later, he again accompanied his father to Europe, and took a course at the University of Leyden. At fourteen, he was appointed private secretary to Francis Dana, Minister to Russia, remained fourteen months in St. Petersburg, and then traveled leisurely through Scandinavia and Denmark to Holland, where he resumed his studies at the Hague. He came home to finish his education and was graduated at Harvard in his twenty-first year. Admitted to the bar in 1791, he began to practice in Boston. His first publications were a number of essays in journals of that city, pointing out the whimsies and sophistries of radical French politicians, and declaring that the country should be strictly neutral in the war between France and England. They attracted wide attention, and commended him to Washington, who appointed him Minister to Holland in 1794, having formed a most elevated opinion of his character and capacities. At thirty, he espoused Louisa Catherine Johnson, a daughter of Joshua Johnson of Maryland, then Con-

sul at London. He was elected to the United States Senate for the term beginning March, 1803, and two years after was appointed professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres at Harvard, accepting the place only on condition that he should perform his senatorial duties while Congress was in session. He offended the Federalists, with whom he had been allied, by sustaining Jefferson's embargo act, and from that cause went over to the Democrats, or National Republicans, as they preferred to call themselves. He resigned his seat in the Senate, being unwilling to obey the will of the Federalists, then in the majority in Massachusetts, and angered them greatly by accusing some of their leaders of having formed a plot to dissolve the Union, and set up a Northern Confederacy. This accusation is thought to have been one of the most potent causes of the enmity and suspicion so long cherished toward New England by the southern and other States.

Adams became conspicuous in the Senate as an able debater and a finished scholar, and in 1809 was sent by Madison to Russia, where he originated the friendly feeling which has ever since been maintained between that power and our own. In 1813, he was one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain at Ghent, and performed his part with signal ability. Going to England in a ministerial capacity in 1815, he stayed there for two years, when he returned to fill the office of Secretary of State, under Monroe. He discharged its duties as satisfactorily as he had those of diplomacy. In 1824, Adams, Jackson, Crawford, and Clay, all substantially having the same politics, that of the Democrats, were candidates for the Presidency. Adams received eighty-four electoral votes, Jack-

son ninety-nine, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven, which rendered it necessary for the House of Representatives to decide the question. Clay threw all his influence in favor of Adams, and secured his choice. As the President appointed Clay Secretary of State, Jackson and his supporters charged the Kentuckian with corrupt motives, and imputed to the President a lack of integrity. Although there is no good reason for believing those charges, they probably had much weight in defeating him for a second term, when he received only eighty-three votes out of two hundred and sixty-one. Adams favored internal improvements, the protection of home manufactures, and was principled against removing men from office merely for difference of political views. March 4, 1829, he retired to Quincy, Mass., formerly called Braintree, where he had been born, July 11, 1767, nearly sixty-two years before. The next year he was sent to Congress, to the surprise of everybody, because previous Presidents had never been willing to return to Washington in any political capacity. He continued in the House of Representatives for seventeen years, showing more ability and gaining more reputation than ever before. He was generally regarded as a model legislator, no one surpassing him in application and powers of endurance, not to speak of talents and learning. While he generally sided with the Whigs, he was independent in his opinions and conduct. He won most renown by his defense of the right of petition and his unyielding opposition to what he denounced as the constant encroachments of the slave power. Although the House had adopted a rule that no petition bearing on slavery should be read, printed, or debated, Adams persisted in presenting such



petitions, one by one, sometimes to the number of two hundred in a day, and demanding action on each separate petition. The most violent anger, menace, and abuse from the Southerners never moved him from his conscientious course, and his coolness, under the circumstances, only added to and intensified their vituperative wrath. He died at his post of an attack of paralysis, February 23, 1848, aged eighty, his last words being, "I am content."

John Quincy Adams was more scholarly than his father, but not his equal in native force of intellect. He wrote fluently and copiously, but his style was verbose and inflated, wholly inferior to John Adams's simple, strong, idiomatic English. They were Unitarians; they resembled one another in appearance as well as in energy, firmness, and unwavering courage, and both had passionate tempers and hot prejudices. They were eminently representatives of New England, and despite their faults, many though not grievous, they were of sturdy stuff, and an honor to American history.

CHAPTER XLI.

ANDREW JACKSON, MARTIN VAN BUREN, AND WM. HENRY HARRISON, SEVENTH, EIGHTH, AND NINTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Jackson the First Unmixed Democrat — His Election Regarded in Virginia and Massachusetts with Surprise and Disgust — His Uncouth and Untaught Youth — His Chivalrous Delicacy toward Women — His Morbid Sensibility about His Wife's Reputation — His Combats with Indians — Various Recounters and Duels — The Hermitage — The Seminole War — Battle of New Orleans — His Determination to Hang the Nullifiers — Honest, Single-minded, and Patriotic — Van Buren as Democrat and Free-soiler — His Contented Old Age — Harrison as an Indian Fighter — The Log Cabin Campaign.

ANDREW JACKSON.

A GREATER difference than that between Andrew Jackson and his presidential predecessors cannot well be conceived. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and the Adamses, had all been men of education, refinement, breeding, accustomed to good society and polite usages. Jackson was an illiterate, untrained, rustic, violent man, whose life, spent in a semi-civilized region, had been marked by savage personal combats and many disgraceful scenes. His choice as Chief Executive denotes a new era in politics, and a great change in public sentiment. It is easy to understand with what surprise, pain, and dis-



THE GREAT EAST ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE.
Public receptions are given by the President in this room.

11

gust the gentlemen of Virginia and Massachusetts, the two States that exercised the most influence on the young republic, must have regarded the election to the Presidency of a military chieftain, backwoodsman, cock-fighter, and tyrant, who had never shown respect for law, or recognized any authority but his despotic will. Jackson was indeed, the first unmixed Democrat, politically and socially, that had been placed in the highest position of trust and power. It was the beginning of an epoch, which opened a new volume of the national history.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President, was of Scotch-Irish extraction, was born in what was known as the Waxhaw settlement, N. C., so near the line that he always supposed himself a native of South Carolina. He bore the full name of his father, a very poor man, who came to this country in 1765, and never struggled out of penury. His mother, Elizabeth Hutchinson, of very humble origin, brought him into the world some days after his father's death, under very hard and most depressing circumstances. He was the youngest of three boys, whom their mother reared as best she could, in a common cabin in which she lived with her brother-in-law, doing the hard work of the house, while his wife, her sister, was incapacitated from labor by permanent invalidism. Andrew, or Andy, as he was commonly called, greatly loved and revered his mother, who died when he was a youth, leaving him literally alone in the world, and a very hard part of the world in those days, with the Waxhaw settlement. He mourned her deeply, and in after life often referred tenderly to her virtues. One of his best traits was his inherent and unvarying respect for women, toward whom he ever conducted

himself with chivalrous delicacy, not to be expected in a man of such antecedents, and of so impetuous and turbulent a disposition. He grew up wild, homely, awkward, profane, quarrelsome, overbearing, fond of physical exercise, and with no more instruction than enabled him to read, write a very indifferent hand — he never learned to spell, — and master rudimentary arithmetic.

Jackson was only fourteen when he first fought against the British. His elder brother Hugh had already died of heat and exhaustion at the battle of Stono, having gone forth in a company of volunteers to attack Tarleton. Andrew and Robert, his other brother, were zealous Whigs, and having been taken prisoners by the enemy, were both seriously wounded by a brutal English officer, whose boots they had refused to clean. They caught the small-pox while in captivity, and were exchanged by the exertions of their mother, who took them home, where Robert died of the disease. She soon after went to Charleston, to take care of the sick and wounded Americans, and fell a victim to ship-fever. Andrew, compelled literally to earn his bread, worked in a saddler's shop, and taught school, which must have been of a queer sort, if he could teach it. At seventeen he begun the study of law at Salisbury, N. C., but was more interested in cock-fighting, horse-racing, card-playing, and all rude sports, than in his studies. He was called a very hard case, though he had many redeeming traits, chief among them being hatred of oppression and love of justice. At twenty, he was licensed to practice and the next year was appointed public prosecutor of the western district of the State, now Tennessee. He went to Nashville immediately, and entered upon his duties, gaining many clients, and serving

them faithfully. That was a wild region then, and his constant travel was done at the risk of his life. But he feared neither Indians nor anything else, and he had so many narrow escapes that his rude neighbors thought him danger-proof.

At twenty-four he took for wife Mrs. Rachel Robards, daughter of Col. John Donelson of Virginia, one of the pioneers of Tennessee, after whom was named Fort Donelson, captured by General Grant the second year of the Civil war. Mrs. Robards and her first husband were boarding with Mrs. Donelson, then a widow, when Jackson reached Tennessee, and became a boarder under the same roof. Mrs. Robards was, in a frontier way, vivacious and sportive, a rattling talker and a fine rider. Her husband, suspicious and morose, was very jealous of her, and made her very unhappy. Jackson was fond of her society, though he in no manner passed the boundaries of the most conventional decorum. Her husband believed, or pretended to believe, that he was his wife's lover, and applied to the Virginia legislature for an act preliminary to divorce. Jackson and Mrs. Robards supposed the act itself a divorce, and they were married two years before the divorce had been allowed. This innocent mistake (they were married again when it was discovered) was the source of endless annoyance and sorrow to the second husband, who, to the day of his death, was so sensitive and fiery on the subject that, if any man hinted at any impropriety in their relations, he was certain to be called to account by Jackson, pistol in hand. Indeed, he was little less than a monomaniac in regard to his wife. Several of his most savage conflicts grew directly, or indirectly, out of what he believed or imagined

to be reflections on her fair fame. If ever a man was conubially mad, that man was Andrew Jackson. Mrs. Robards was an honest and worthy, though an uneducated and very ordinary sort of woman; but he fancied her to be a goddess, an angel, a saint, a creature entirely apart and above humanity, and he wanted to kill anybody who dared express any other opinion. His jealous disposition kept him alert for the slightest insinuation against her:

Much of Jackson's early life in Tennessee was spent in fighting Indians and his private enemies, of whom he always had a host. He was one of the most irascible and pugnacious of mortals, and his ire, aroused by the slightest cause, was deadly. Possessed of many generous and noble qualities, he was often in his resentments no better than a barbarian. When he was one of the judges of the supreme court of Tennessee, John Sevier was governor. They had quarreled, and Jackson had challenged the governor, who had declined the challenge. Still on bad terms, they met one day in the streets of Knoxville, and after exchanging a few words, Sevier made some slighting allusion to Mrs. Jackson. Her husband roared out, "Do you dare, villain, to mention her sacred name?" And whipping out a pistol, fired at the governor, who returned the shot. They fired again, ineffectually, and then bystanders interfered. Not long after, they encountered one another on horseback on the road, each accompanied by a friend. Again they shot at one another, the friends taking part, and murder would have been done, had not some travelers, who had chanced to come up, separated the combatants. Jackson had the reputation of being a dead shot; but he frequently missed his man, owing doubtless to the excitement of the occasion.

A friend of Jackson, William Carroll, having challenged Jesse Benton, a younger brother of Thomas H. Benton, Jackson was induced to act as his second. The principals were wounded, Benton seriously, which angered the elder Benton, because he thought Jackson under obligations to him, and prompted him to say such things as a choleric man is apt to say of anybody who has offended him. The abusive remarks were repeated to Jackson, and he, in one of his customary bursts of passion and profanity, declared that he would horsewhip Benton the first time he should see him. Hearing, a few weeks after, that his foe was at the City hotel in Nashville, he sought him there in the company of a friend. Armed with pistols and a small sword, he advanced with a whip in his hand, on Benton, who was standing at the front door, very near his brother Jesse. "I'm going to punish you, you blank-blank villain," he cried; "defend yourself." Thomas Benton made as if to draw a weapon; his adversary pulled a pistol, and leveled it at his breast. Benton retreated slowly through the hall, followed closely by Jackson, when Jesse Benton fired at the latter, and shattered his arm and shoulder. Lying helpless and bleeding on the floor, his friend discharged a pistol at Thomas Benton, and finding he had missed him, hurried forward, and was about to strike him with the butt, when Benton stumbled and fell to the bottom of some stairs he had not observed at the end of the hall. While Jackson's friend was looking after him, his nephew attacked Jesse Benton with a bowie-knife, and the two had a savage and bloody encounter until they were pulled apart. This was not an uncommon scene in the Southwest in those days; Jackson was then forty-seven; had been a member of Con-

gress, as United States Senator, and was at the time a Major-General of militia.

One of the most tragical of his experiences was his duel, some years before, with Charles Dickinson, who had committed the unpardonable sin of commenting freely on Mrs. Jackson. They had several disagreements, and Jackson finally spoke to Dickinson in so violent a manner that his language was repeated, as the General wished it should be, to the man himself. Thereupon Dickinson, who was about to start for New Orleans on a flat boat, wrote Jackson a letter, denouncing him as a liar and a coward. On his return, Jackson challenged him, and they met on the banks of the Red River in Logan county, Ky., early in the morning of May 30, 1806. Dickinson got first fire, breaking a rib, and making a serious wound in the breast of his opponent, who showed no sign of having been hit. He had felt sure of killing his antagonist, and exclaimed, "Great God, have I missed him?" Jackson, taking deliberate aim, pulled the trigger; but the weapon did not explode. It stopped at half-cock. He cocked it fully, and again calmly and carefully leveling it, fired. The bullet passed through Dickinson's body, just above the hips: he fell, and died that night, after suffering terrible agony. Jackson never recovered from the hurt, and never expressed the least remorse for what many persons pronounced a cold-blooded murder. There is no doubt that he had made up his mind to kill Dickinson. Any man who had spoken discreditably of Mrs. Jackson had, in his opinion, forfeited the right to live.

Not long after his marriage, Jackson removed from Nashville to a farm, some thirteen miles distant, which he named The Hermitage, where he died in his seventy-ninth

year. He lived in a spacious home, and had for a store a block house, where he sold goods to the Indians, and the settlers in the neighborhood. He did a profitable business — his assistant transacted most of it — frequently sending corn, tobacco, and cotton, which he raised on his land, with the assistance of his slaves, to the New Orleans market. He had no abhorrence of slavery, though he was always a kind and considerate master. He was a member of the convention that framed the constitution of Tennessee in 1796, and was elected to Congress from the new State, then entitled to only one representative. The next year, he was sent to the national Senate, but soon resigned his seat. He acted as a judge of the supreme court for eight years. He enlisted in the war of 1812; defeated the Creek Indians, acquiring great popularity thereby, and was made a Major-General in the regular army. His victory at New Orleans gave him a great reputation, and rendered him an idol of the people of the southwest.

In 1817-18, he carried on prosperous war against the Seminoles in Florida, seized Pensacola without authority, as was his wont, and hanged two British subjects for inciting the Indians to hostile acts. It was a great surprise to the eastern and middle States when he received the largest number of votes of any one of the four candidates for the presidency in 1824. After Adams had been chosen by the House of Representatives, Jackson seemed to have permanently withdrawn to The Hermitage; but all the opponents of Adams supported him in the next campaign, which was the most bitter ever known in the country, and he was triumphantly elected. His two terms were stormy enough. His veto of the bill granting a new charter to the

United States Bank created great excitement, and his removal of the public deposits created still more. His proclamation against the nullifiers of South Carolina was electric in its effect, and that he would have hanged them, as he afterwards said, if he had had cause to, is altogether probable. While he was with many one of the most detested Presidents that have sat in the executive chair, he was extremely popular with the masses. Nor can it be denied that most of the acts for which he was once savagely denounced have come to be generally approved. He was narrow, ignorant, overflowing with passion and prejudice; but he was, nevertheless, honest, single-minded, and, according to his light, a true and conscientious patriot.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Martin Van Buren, the eighth President, largely owed his office to the friendship and influence of General Jackson, with whom he had made himself a particular favorite. Born at Kinderhook, N. Y., December 5, 1782, he died near there in his eightieth year. Educated at the local academy, he studied law, and was admitted to the bar by the time he was nineteen. He began very early to take part in politics as a Democrat, and at thirty was elected to the State senate. He favored the war of 1812, and was made Attorney-General of New York. He was the ruling spirit of the Albany Regency, formed to oppose De Witt Clinton, which controlled the State politically for twenty years. Having been twice chosen United States Senator, he resigned his position to enter the cabinet of Jackson. He was nominated Minister to England, and went there; but his nomination was rejected by the Senate, in which

the Whigs — the name taken during the previous administration by the opponents of Jackson — had then a majority. To indemnify him for this mortification, the Democrats made him Vice-President during Jackson's second term. At its termination, Van Buren was put forward as a candidate for the presidency against Harrison, a Whig, and was easily elected. The year after — 1837 — there was a great financial panic, with an extraordinary commercial depression, and in May of that year all the banks in the country suspended specie payment. Van Buren, in his message, recommended an independent treasury, which was established by law in 1840. All his political friends voted for the resolution that Congress should lay all petitions for the abolition of slavery on the table without reading, a resolution which, as has been seen, John Quincy Adams gallantly defied.

In 1840 he was renominated against his former competitor, Harrison; but he was so assailed by the Whig newspapers and orators as responsible for the commercial prostration and monetary distress incident to his term of office, and so charged with extravagance, corruption, and indifference to the condition of the laboring classes, that, rendered odious to the masses, he was overwhelmingly defeated. In 1844 his name was again presented, and a majority of the delegates of the convention, held at Baltimore, were for him. But the Southerners opposed him, because he had expressed himself adversely to the annexation of Texas, and by making a vote of two-thirds necessary to a choice, defeated his prospects. He subsequently became a free Democrat, or Free Soiler. After 1848, he returned to private life on his estate at Lindenwald, near Kinderhook, en-

joying leisure, wealth, and a contented old age. Long before his death, the prejudice that had been excited by party politics wore away, and he was seen in his true character. He was an amiable and accomplished gentleman, and his domestic relations were very happy. His son, John, a brilliant lawyer in New York city, survived his father but four years.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The administration of William Henry Harrison, the successor of Martin Van Buren, and ninth President, was the briefest in the history of the country. It lasted exactly one month, from the 4th of March, 1841, when he was inaugurated, to the 4th of April, when he died, after a week's illness, supposed to have been brought on by the excitement and fatigue of the campaign and the inauguration. He was older — being sixty-eight — than any man who had been called to the executive office, and possibly on this account less able to bear the strain.

Harrison was born in Berkeley, Charles City county, Virginia, February 9, 1773, and died in Washington. His father was Governor Benjamin Harrison, and his family enjoyed good social position. He entered the army some time before his majority, and rose in time from ensign to major-general. His most important campaigns were against the Indians, whom he managed so well that, in treating with different tribes at different times, he obtained from them very important concessions of land. It was during his Indian fighting that the successful defense of his camp at Tippecanoe gave him that nickname. He took a creditable part in the short war of 1812 with England; and, after it, went into an honorable retirement for a time

at North Bend, Ohio, where he had a farm. He was sent to Congress in 1816; after a few years, to the Senate; and was appointed by John Quincy Adams Minister to Columbia. He was quickly recalled upon Jackson's inauguration, and remained in private life until he was nominated for the presidency in 1836, in opposition to Martin Van Buren. He was defeated, but renominated in 1840. The military element having been introduced into politics by General Jackson's election, it was thought that a second attempt, with a good military record, would be more certain than the first had been to defeat Van Buren. Harrison was, therefore, again put forward, with John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President, and the ticket polled a very large and successful vote. The methods of conducting political campaigns had greatly changed during this period — mass-meetings, torch-light processions, and manufactured enthusiasm becoming the order of the day. The opposition had cast it as a slur upon Harrison that he had at some time lived in a log-cabin, and had only hard cider to drink. It was stupid and silly; for what a man is, not where he has lived, is the important thing in this country; and the Whigs quickly caught the words, and used "log-cabin" and "hard cider" with excellent effect. Harrison was a man of pleasing address, agreeable manners, and a thorough gentleman.

CHAPTER XLII.

JOHN TYLER AND JAMES K. POLK, TENTH AND ELEVENTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Tyler the First Vice-President to Succeed the Chief Executive by Death — A Representative of the Same Social Class as Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe — Education and Wealth Really Disadvantageous to Him — A Career of Continuous Vetoes — Making Himself Extremely Unpopular — Forcing His Cabinet to Resign — The Annexation of Texas a Favorite Scheme — A Member of the Peace Convention in 1861 — A Former Chief Magistrate in Open Rebellion against the Government — Polk and the Mexican War — A Commonplace President.

JOHN TYLER.

UPON the death of President Harrison, Vice-President Tyler succeeded to the office, and was the first of the four Vice-Presidents who have become President on the death of the elected Executive. By an odd coincidence, he was born in the same county — Charles City — in Virginia, which gave birth to Harrison, though the latter so early made his home in Ohio that he is commonly reported as an Ohioan. Tyler was much younger than Harrison, having been born March 29, 1790, and was the second son of John Tyler, a distinguished revolutionary patriot. He belonged to the same social class with Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, but was a man of very different caliber. He was narrow-minded where they were broad,



THE GREEN ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE.



bigoted where they were liberal, reactionary in his political principles where they were progressive, and was, indeed, what has recently been considered a typical Southerner rather than a typical American. In his youth he had all the advantages of education and wealth; but, to a man of his turn of mind, they were really disadvantages.

Tyler held many offices, beginning with the Virginia Legislature, passing on to the House of Representatives in Washington, and thence to the Senate, before being nominated to the vice-presidency. In the Senate he succeeded the famous John Randolph, and while there began his well-known career of opposition to progress, which resulted in continual presidential vetoes during his administration. As Senator, he voted against all efforts toward internal improvements by the general government, against various tariff bills, and against many things which showed an enlightened public spirit. He made himself very unpopular, but was finally nominated for the vice-presidency, in order to draw the southern vote to Harrison, with whose nomination the South was much dissatisfied, having preferred Henry Clay. Tyler was then acting with the Whig party, but soon after his accession to the presidency he began to offend his party by his ill-considered acts, and speedily forced all his cabinet except Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State, to resign. His course became so unsatisfactory during the second year of his administration that the Whig members of Congress felt called upon to publicly declare themselves as entirely at odds with the President, and no longer his adherents.

The annexation of Texas occurred during President Tyler's administration, and was a scheme much favored by him.

It was only successfully carried, however, with the aid of the Democrats in Congress, whose influence Tyler continually sought, after antagonizing his own party.

Although Tyler accepted a renomination from a convention composed mainly of office-holders, held in May, 1844, it soon became evident, even to him, that he would certainly be ignominiously beaten; consequently he withdrew his name from the candidacy. He was the first President to express himself actively in favor of slavery, and everything which looked toward a limitation of the "institution" aroused his most violent opposition. In 1861 he was a member of the Peace Convention, held in Washington, in the futile hope of arranging the difficulties between the seceded States and the National government. The convention being without result, he threw in his fortunes with the Confederacy, and presented the humiliating spectacle of a former Chief Magistrate in open rebellion against the government of which he had once been the head.

Tyler was twice married, and was the father of several children. He died on January 17, 1862, at Richmond, Virginia, while a member of the Confederate Congress.

JAMES K. POLK.

James Knox Polk, the eleventh President, was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, November 12, 1795. He did not, like the Virginia Presidents, spring from the wealthy and cultured class, but was the son of a farmer in very moderate circumstances, who removed in 1806 to Tennessee. His early education was very limited; but he managed to prepare himself for college, and was graduated in

1818 from the University of North Carolina. He began to practice at the bar in 1820; was elected to the State legislature in 1823; was sent to Congress in 1825, where he was strongly opposed to President John Quincy Adams' administration. Later he became ardently devoted to General Jackson, and remained a most earnest Democrat during his life. In 1835, Polk was elected Speaker of the House. After being in Congress fourteen years, he declined a re-nomination, and retired to Tennessee, only to be immediately made Governor of the State. In May, 1844, the National Democratic convention nominated him for President, with George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania for Vice-President. The Whig candidates were Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen. Polk and Dallas were successful, and entered office March 4, 1845. The annexation of Texas had just been advised by President Tyler, and it became the most important effort of President Polk's administration to defend the frontier of our new possession. He sent General Taylor with a small force to occupy the disputed land between the Nueces river, which Mexico claimed as the boundary, and the Rio Grande, which the government claimed as the boundary. In April, 1846, active fighting began between General Taylor and General Arista, the Mexican commander. The President then declared that war existed, and asked Congress for men and money. Authority was given to call for fifty thousand men and \$10,000,000. Although the war was generally unpopular at the North, it was prosecuted with energy, our forces even penetrating to the very capital of Mexico. Mexico ended by ceding all that was demanded of her, yielding upper California and New Mexico, and granting the Rio Grande

from its mouth to El Paso, as the southern boundary of Texas. Beside the Mexican war, the important events in Polk's administration were certain modifications of the tariff, the creation of the department of the Interior, the admission of the State of Wisconsin, and the very important event of establishing the National Treasury system in Washington, independent of all State banks.

Having agreed not to seek a renomination, President Polk retired from office March 4, 1849, and three months later died, after a few days' illness, at his home in Nashville.

CHAPTER XLIII.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, MILLARD FILLMORE, AND FRANKLIN PIERCE, TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, AND FOURTEENTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Taylor Purely a Military Man — His Reputation Made in the Mexican War — His Death in Four Months — His Disqualifications for Political Life — Fillmore's Early Success — His Fore-shadowing of the National Banking System — Approval of the Fugitive Slave Law — The Irreparable Injury it did Him — A Candidate of the American Party — Pierce a Northern Man with Extreme Southern Principles — His Constant Sympathy with and Sustainment of Slavery — His Gallantry in the Field — Retirement to Private Life Equivalent to Extinction.

THE twelfth President, General Zachary Taylor, was the last of the Presidents born in Virginia. He first saw the light on September 24, 1784, in Orange county, from which his father, Colonel Richard Taylor, removed to the neighborhood of Louisville, Kentucky, in 1785. Until he was twenty-three, Zachary remained on his father's plantation; but in 1808, his elder brother, Hancock, died in the army, and the commission — that of lieutenant — which he held, was offered to Zachary. This was the beginning of a military career which lasted nearly all his life. After the declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, he, being then a captain, was placed

in command of Fort Harrison on the Wabash River, not far from Vincennes. This was furiously attacked at night by the Indians; but Captain Taylor, with a handful of men, two-thirds of them being ill, made a brilliant and successful defense, and received as his reward from President Madison the brevet rank of major — the first time a brevet rank was ever conferred in our army. Having thus established his military reputation, he constantly held important commands until the peace in 1815, when, for a brief period, he resigned his commission, and retired to private life.

He was soon reappointed, however, and took conspicuous part in the Black Hawk war, and in the conflicts with the Indians in Florida in 1836-37, and in 1840 was appointed commander of the First Department of the Southwest. About this time he purchased an estate at Baton Rouge, and removed his family thereto. In July, 1845, following the annexation of Texas, he was ordered with fifteen hundred troops to defend our new possession against invasion by Mexico. He encamped near Corpus Christi, and his force was soon increased to four thousand. It was pretty plainly indicated to General Taylor that the government would be glad to have him throw down the gauntlet to Mexico by moving into the disputed territory. Taylor, however, was too wise to commit any overt act until expressly ordered to do so by President Polk. Being positively ordered to advance, he began to move toward the Rio Grande on March 8, 1846, and on the 28th reached the bank of the river opposite Matamoras. On the 12th of April, General Ampudia, in command of the Mexican forces near by, sent word to General Taylor to retire to the Nueces River, while the boundary question was being settled by the

respective governments, at the same time declaring a failure to comply with the advice would be construed as a declaration of war by Mexico. General Taylor replied that his instructions did not permit him to retire, and that if the Mexicans chose to begin hostilities, he was prepared. Such was the beginning of the Mexican war. On the 8th of May, the battle of Palo Alto, the first of the war, was won by General Taylor; and from that day until his return home in November, 1847, Old Rough and Ready, as he was called by his soldiers, was almost uniformly successful.

In June, 1848, he was nominated for President by the Whigs, upon the express understanding that he should be unbound by pledges. Millard Fillmore of New York was nominated for Vice-President. Although the nomination of General Taylor was quite popular among the people, it gave considerable offense to a number of the northern delegates, and Henry Wilson and some others withdrew from the convention to form the Free Soil party, the basis of which was opposition to the extension of slavery. The Democrats nominated Lewis Cass; but on account of his known pro-slavery principles, many of his party refused to vote for him, giving their suffrages to the Free Soil candidates, Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. General Taylor was, however, elected, and was inaugurated on Monday, March 5, 1849.

The most important questions of his administration concerned the admission of California as a State, the organization of the new territories, and the still vexed boundaries of Texas; the vital point being the relation of slavery to the new sections. At that time, there were an equal number of slave and free States, giving an exact balance of power

in the Senate, and the admission of California either as a free or a slave State was a matter of vital importance to both political parties. President Taylor recommended that California be admitted; that the new territories should draw up constitutions to suit themselves on the subject of slavery, and be ultimately admitted as States on these bases. This view was too liberal for the slave-holding leaders of the South, and many of them already threatened secession. In the Senate, Henry Clay was attempting to effect some sort of compromise — compromise which has ever been the bane of the country — when President Taylor was attacked with bilious fever on July 4, 1850, and died five days later at the White House.

Few of the Presidents have been less prepared to fill that high office. He was ignorant, not only of state-craft and politics, but he had not had the most ordinary advantages of education. On the other hand, he had sterling qualities of character; he was simple, modest, loyal, and thoroughly desirous to do his duty as far as a limited understanding made it plain; and he died amid sincere regret. He left several children, one of his daughters being the first Mrs. Jefferson Davis.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Millard Fillmore, the thirteenth President, was born January 7, 1800, in Locke, now Summerhill, Cayuga county, New York. The region was then a wilderness, and his opportunities for education were limited to the most elementary parts. At fourteen he was apprenticed to learn the fuller's trade; but in his nineteenth year determined to study law. He agreed, therefore, to buy the rest

of his time from his employer, and with a neighboring lawyer arranged to earn his lessons. In 1821, he made his way on foot to Buffalo, and arrived an utter stranger with his entire fortune of \$4 in his pocket. He obtained employment by teaching school, and assisting the postmaster while he prosecuted his studies, and the energy and determination which had helped him so far carried him to the bar before the usual period of preparation. He began practice at Aurora, N. Y., where his father then resided. He gradually built up a prosperous practice, and in 1830 removed to Buffalo, which was ever after his home.

His political life began in 1828, on his election to the State legislature by the anti-Masonic party. He particularly distinguished himself by advocating the abolition of imprisonment for debt; the bill in relation to which was mainly drafted by him. In 1832, he was sent to Congress on the anti-Jackson ticket. In 1836 he was sent again by the Whigs, and remained until 1842, when he declined a renomination. Fillmore earnestly supported President John Quincy Adams in his course concerning the reception and reading in Congress of petitions adverse to slavery. He declared himself adverse to the admission of Texas as a slave State; he was in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, — and of Congress using all its constitutional powers to prevent the slave trade between the States. He would not, however, pledge himself not to change his opinions on these vital questions. Fillmore was a most devoted representative, and was one of the most active members during his entire term in Congress. He retired in 1843, and was a candidate for the nomination of Vice-President in 1844, but was defeated. He was also

defeated for Governor of New York in 1845 by Silas Wright. In 1847 he was elected comptroller of the State, and in his report in 1849 suggested that a national bank, with United States stocks as a basis for the issue of currency, would be a great convenience for the people; thus foreshadowing our present national banking system.

In June, 1848, Fillmore was really nominated for the vice-presidency with General Taylor for President, and was elected the following November. When John C. Calhoun was Vice-President, he had made the rule that the Vice-President had no power to call the Senate to order. Fillmore, however, in a brief, but telling speech, announced his intention of keeping order in that body, and reversing any previous rules, if necessary. His course was highly commended by the Senators of all parties.

On the 10th of July, 1850, he was sworn in as President upon Zachary Taylor's death. The question of the constitutionality of the act compelling the return of fugitive slaves soon came up for decision, and was referred to the Attorney-General, John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. He decided in favor of the bill, and the President concurred in the decision. This was one of the most unpopular measures of Fillmore's administration; for many members of the Whig party were opposed to encouraging slavery, although not avowedly of the anti-slavery faith. The execution of this law was constantly resisted, and although the President declared it should be maintained because it was the law, those who resisted it were not, in consequence of its unpopularity, often molested. The signing of the Fugitive Slave bill, as it was called, was almost the only very unpopular act of Fillmore's administration, which in many

respects was remarkably successful; but he was so distasteful to the northern public that, when a candidate for re-nomination in 1852, he could not secure twenty votes in the free States. Once afterward, in 1856, he was nominated by the American or Know-Nothing party for President, against Buchanan, nominated by the Democrats, and Fremont by the Republicans. He received quite a large popular vote; but Maryland alone gave him its electoral vote. After this, he wholly retired from public life, and lived in Buffalo until his death, March 8, 1874.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Franklin Pierce, fourteenth President, although well born — his father being a Revolutionary general, and Governor of his native State — and well educated, was one of the most unenlightened Executives the country has had. His body was born in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804; but his mind was native to the most bigoted region of the South of those days. He was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1824, in the same class with Nathaniel Hawthorne; he studied law at Portsmouth and Amherst, N. H., and Northampton, Mass., and was admitted to the bar in 1827. At the age of twenty-five he was elected to the legislature, remaining four years. At twenty-nine, he was sent to Congress, and in 1837, when barely of legal age, was sent to the Senate. This rapid political advancement indicated that he was regarded as an exceptionally able young man; but it also indicates that the constituency which thus recognized his ability must have been no less narrow-minded than himself. All his congressional course was in the line of political retrogression, and he uniformly voted

with the Southern members in favor of all pro-slavery and other mistaken acts. He ardently approved the annexation of Texas, and was in such cordial sympathy with President Polk concerning the Mexican war, that he enlisted in one of the earliest volunteer regiments. He was shortly after made colonel of the Ninth regiment, and was commissioned brigadier-general before he departed for the seat of war. The appointment, however, was justified by his bravery and wisdom on the battle-field; and at the close of the war he returned to his home and his law practice, covered with laurels.

In 1852, he was nominated by the Democrats for the presidency, and elected by an overwhelming majority. In his inaugural address he foreshadowed his future blind policy. He argued that slavery was recognized by the Constitution; that therefore the Fugitive Slave law was right, and should be carried out; and he denounced all agitation of the slavery question. Among the most important events of the administration were the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, under the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the negotiation by Commodore Perry of our first treaty with the hitherto unknown country of Japan. It was about this time that the troubles between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery citizens of Kansas began; and on January 24, 1856, President Pierce sent a message to Congress declaring the formation of a free State government in Kansas an act of rebellion. The President's course in relation to the border troubles, as they were then called, gave great offense, and justly, to a very large part of the North, although anti-slavery tenets were then by no means popular. There is little doubt, however, that his evident southern proclivities

helped to defeat Pierce for renomination; for sectional feeling, which resulted later in civil war, was already beginning to run high. As long as he remained the Executive, Pierce did his utmost to prevent the new States, Kansas especially, from being free, and when he retired, on March 4, 1857, he left the way open for his weak-kneed successor, James Buchanan, to do the same.

After leaving the White House, Pierce made a protracted European tour, and returned to New Hampshire about the beginning of the Rebellion. During its progress he declared in a public speech his entire sympathy with the South. He passed into a retirement which became practically oblivion, and died at Concord, October 8, 1869.

Personally he was amiable, courteous, and refined, and much liked by his intimate friends; but his peculiar bias prevented him from comprehending both sides of a question.

CHAPTER XLIV.

JAMES BUCHANAN, FIFTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

An Unpopular Administration — James Buchanan's Early History — Sent to Congress at Twenty-nine — The Weakest of Presidents — His Total Inadequacy for the Great Emergency in Which He was Placed — Shrewd for His Own Interest — An Admirer and Follower of Jackson Without His Will or Courage — The Anti-Slavery Excitement in Kansas — The Cause of the Civil War Inherent in the Constitution — The Nation on the Eve of a Conflict — Admission by Buchanan of the Right of the Southern States to Secede — A Pitiful Spectacle of Imbecility — General Relief at the End of His Administration.

NO administration, unless it was John Tyler's, has ever been so unpopular as James Buchanan's. Odious throughout the North on account of what was declared to be his cowardly and treacherous yielding to the outrageous and rebellious acts of the South, it was, towards its close, bitterly condemned by the South, which accused him of perfidy to them in sustaining the unconstitutional aggressions of the North. He shared the fate of most men who, in times of fierce dissension between two great parties, try, in a feeble and vacillating way, to avoid offending either, and end by offending both. The best that can be said of Buchanan is that, placed in a most difficult and crit-



THE BLUE ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE.
(Decorated for a reception.)
THE RED ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE.



ical situation, which would have tested the powers of the strongest man, he was found weak and irresolute, and shamefully inadequate to the vast emergency.

His father was a Scotch-Irishman, who had immigrated to this country without means or prospects, and had married, soon after arrival, Elizabeth Speer, a farmer's daughter. They sought their fortunes in an unsettled region of Pennsylvania; the young husband cutting down the trees, and building a log hut for their future home. There, at the base of the eastern ridge of the Alleghanies, in Franklin county, James was born, April 22, 1791, and spent eight years. He died near Lancaster in June, 1868. His father, who, like most of his race, was industrious, shrewd, and thrifty, prospered in a humble fashion, and removed to the village of Mercersburg, where the boy was sent to school. He showed great aptitude and native talents, and entered Dickinson College at Carlisle at fourteen, and, four years later, was graduated with distinction. Like almost every other President, he took to law at Lancaster, and began practice when he had attained his majority. He is reported to have been tall, well-formed, vigorous, exuberant of spirits, and fond of manly sports. Very diligent and ambitious, he advanced rapidly, gained a lucrative practice, and at thirty was ranked as one of the first lawyers in the State.

Having been sent to Congress at twenty-nine, he remained there for ten years, and when he had reached forty, he retired from business, having acquired what was then regarded as wealth. In politics he began as a Federalist; but he favored the war of 1812, and even volunteered for the defense of Baltimore. Subsequently he turned Re-

publican, properly Democrat, largely through his admiration of General Jackson, and from sympathy with his doctrines,—the kind of admiration, it is presumed, which a flabby nature has for a strong one. In 1831, he was appointed by the President Minister to Russia, and discharged his duties faithfully and acceptably. On his return, two years later, he was chosen to the United States Senate, where he came into contact with Silas Wright, Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, the last of whom never liked him, regarding him as a timid, self-seeking, time-serving man. He almost invariably reflected the views of the administration, and was accused by his opponents of obsequiousness and subserviency. He defended Jackson for his course in removing from office all who would not support him, or were of different politics — a course that has been incalculably mischievous to the government; and for which Jackson is entirely responsible — and insisted that it was not only justifiable, but commendable. This greatly pleased Jackson, who never could distinguish between flattery and sincere appreciation, and who considered every man his enemy that had a will of his own. Consistently with his peculiar character, he sustained the administration of Van Buren, and ardently advocated the annexation of Texas. He was returned to the Senate, and kept his seat until Polk assigned him (1845) a place in his cabinet as Secretary of State.

Buchanan naturally employed all his energy against the Wilmot Proviso, by which slavery should be excluded from all territory obtained from Mexico, and was continually nervous and troubled about the anti-slavery movement, at that time steadily growing. From first to last, he was always actively on the side of the peculiar institution, and

was secretly despised therefor by not a few of the most zealous Southerners. Conservative to a point of timorousness, he was ever in dread of a dissolution of the Union. He did not think the North could do too much cringing and skulking to placate the insolent and arrogant South. He was willing that the republic should be materially preserved by the sacrifice of all principle on the part of the free States. In a speech in the lower house, he said, "I shall forever avoid any expression, the direct tendency of which must be to create sectional jealousies, and at length disunion,—that worst and last of all political calamities." Discussing the admission of Michigan and Arkansas, in the Senate, he declared, "The older I grow, the more I am inclined to be a States-rights man." He maintained, concerning petitions about slavery, that "Congress had no power to legislate on the subject," and that the body "might as well undertake to interfere with slavery under a foreign government as in any of the States where it now exists." More southern than the Southerners, he was without their motive of material interest, and without their excuse of local tradition and sectional prejudice. Is it strange, therefore, that in 1856 he was put forward as their candidate for the presidency, against John C. Fremont, the first Republican candidate of the new order, and Millard Fillmore, Native American ? As was said at the time, they could not find a more willing servant, or a more pliant tool. He received at the Cincinnati convention one hundred and seventy-four electoral votes out of three hundred and three, and became the fifteenth President.

Extraordinary excitement was produced, the first year of his administration, by an effort to introduce slavery into

Kansas, where civil war was waged. He was, of course, an aider and abettor of the South. He argued in his message that the Lecompton constitution, which was directly in the interest of the pro-slavery men, should be adopted; but Congress resisted, and Kansas came in free. He wanted to buy Cuba for the advantage of slavery; he filled his cabinet with Democrats and their friends, and negatively, at least, helped the cause of secession by every means in his power. Everybody saw the long-deferred, but never-settled sectional conflict at hand; that the contest, which had been suppressed and glossed over by the Constitution would, after nearly a century, have to be fought out.

The founders of the republic had secured peace by bequeathing the unavoidable battle to their posterity. It was in 1861 as it had been in 1789. That was the armistice; this was the resumption of hostilities. It was Federalist and anti-Federalist then; it was Unionist and Disunionist now; but, although the words were changed, the meaning was the same. The cause of the civil strife was the outward agreement and the inward disagreement of the Constitution. Washington perceived its defects, but believed it the best that could be devised, the sole alternative for anarchy and civil war. And so it was; but the Civil war came, and was bound to come in due season. America compromised then, and kept compromising for two generations, and the result of the compromise was a mighty fraternal struggle, which for bloodshed and horror has never been equaled. The cause of the conflict was the hollow compromise of the Constitution. Its framers were most thoughtful, prudent, sagacious. They did all that they could. They saw the present; they could not perceive the

future. And now that future is, fortunately, behind us; and we as a people are, for the first time, united by common losses, common sufferings, and common sorrows.

As Buchanan's term drew toward a close, the people of the North became more and more aroused against him for his constant concessions to the slave power. The anti-slavery feeling grew more and more intense, and culminated in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President, who had given assurances that he would be the Executive of the whole country. The South pronounced him a sectional candidate, and declared it would go out if he should be elected. It had said the same thing about Fremont. It had been threatening to dissolve the Union so long — it had always kept political control by menacing the North — that the free States had finally got tired of hearing the threat. They were anxious to learn whether it was in earnest or not. If not, they ought to know it; if in earnest they should know it also. The knowledge could not come too soon. The disrapture might as well be then as at any time — better, indeed. So they elected Lincoln, and the disintegration began.

Buchanan admitted the right of the southern States to secede, and held that Congress had no power to prevent them. He sat, nevertheless, in his bewilderment, and saw the arms of the republic stolen, the national forts surrendered, State after State discarding its allegiance. There was no remedy for it, in his flaccid mind. He did not even remonstrate. All his censure was for those averse to the extension of slavery. His words were: "The long-continued interference of the northern people with slavery in the South has at length produced its natural effects."

It was a pitiful spectacle of imbecility. How differently Andrew Jackson, whom he had assumed to admire, would have acted in his place ! He would have done something, and something decisive. He would have taken the responsibility. He would have taught the rebels a lesson at the outset. The war would at least have begun earlier.

Two months before the inauguration of Lincoln, the South had prepared itself for an aggressive struggle; had strengthened its position by seizing government property, and the head of the nation had not lifted a finger against them. If he had been hired to co-operate with them, he could hardly have served them more effectually. Many conciliatory measures were proposed by the North; but the rebels rejected them. They evidently scorned the government, as they had reason to, with such an unexecutive Executive. Buchanan seemed concerned only with the date of the 4th of March, when his administration would end, and his responsibility for overt acts would cease. It did end, and the North breathed freer, and experienced a sense of relief and of diminished shame that there would be no more of him forever.

CHAPTER XLV.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Contrast between Lincoln and Buchanan — His Lonely Boyhood and Severe Youth — The Cause of His Detestation of Slavery — The Campaign with Douglas in Illinois Introduces Him to the Nation — The Irresistible Magnetism of the Rail-Splitter — His Nomination at Chicago — Deplorable Condition of the Country at the Time of His Inauguration — His Resolve to Preserve the Union at all Hazards — Distressing Effect of His Assassination — His Personal Appearance and Power of Persuasion — How the Future will Regard the Great President.

THERE has scarcely ever been a greater contrast between two men in power than between James Buchanan and Abraham Lincoln. They were antipodes. One was an embodiment of feebleness, the other an incarnation of strength. The best of Buchanan was outside; the best of Lincoln inside. You had to know one to measure his weakness, and the other to understand his greatness. That such men should succeed one another is one of the antitheses in which history and nature delight.

The sixteenth President, who is as certain of lasting fame as Washington, was born in Hardin (now Larue) county, Ky., February 12, 1809, his ancestors having gone from Pennsylvania to Virginia, whence they had removed

to Kentucky. His father, Thomas Lincoln, and his mother Nancy Hanks, were Virginians. The childhood of Abraham Lincoln was lonely, sterile, and full of hardship. At eight years of age, his parents went to Spencer county, Ind., and he remembered how severe the journey was, and how much he endured in making it. Two years later, he lost his mother,— a bitter loss which he never ceased to mourn. She had taught him to read, and did much to form his character, young as he was. Among the few books that he had and prized in his boyhood were Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, and a Life of Washington, which left a marked impression on his mind, and from which he could repeat long passages after he had become a man. At twenty-one he went to Macon county, Illinois. He volunteered for the defense of the frontier settlements on the breaking out of the Black Hawk war in 1832, but it came to an end before he had seen any service. In the same year, he advocated the cause of Henry Clay against that of General Jackson, and was sorely troubled at the former's defeat, having formed an enthusiastic admiration for him. In 1834, he was elected to the legislature, and re-elected in 1836 and 1838. He had already formed decided opinions on slavery, and had proclaimed that it was founded on injustice and bad policy. He had seen slaves chained and whipped when he was a young man at New Orleans, and he hated slavery ever after. Admitted to the bar, he began to practice at Springfield, Ill., in 1837, and five years after he married Mary Todd, daughter of Robert S. Todd of Lexington, Ky.

Having become prominent as a Whig in his own State, he was sent to Congress in 1846, and while there always

acted on the side of freedom. But his reputation was local until he had been nominated, in 1858, by the Republican convention of Illinois for the United States Senate in opposition to the re-election of Stephen A. Douglas. Lincoln challenged his adversary to canvass the State, and they did so, speaking in joint debate seven times. It was a remarkable campaign, and attracted national attention. The main question was on the admission of Kansas as a free or slave State. Douglas's assumptions of superiority, and allusions to his opponent's early poverty and humble employment, were received with entire good nature, and with such humorous turns and telling retorts that the Little Giant was put to disadvantage. Indeed, skillful and brilliant debater though he was, he was no match for Lincoln, whose homely common sense and sagacious mind had far more influence with the people.

The rail-splitter, as he was called — he had often split rails to build cabins — was one of the most persuasive and effective speakers. Nobody who had ever heard him once, whatever his prejudice beforehand, could fail to like him. He was so simple, so fair, so direct, so convincing, that he would always carry his audience with him. It is doubtful if he has ever had his equal in this respect in the United States. "To listen to Lincoln," said a prominent politician, "is to be on his side. There is no resisting him or his conclusions."

Lincoln actually compelled Douglas during that memorable campaign to array himself against the Dred-Scott decision, and this so enraged the extreme southern Democrats that they refused to support him for President in 1860. They nominated John C. Breckinridge instead,

and this frustrated Douglas's hopes and burning ambition. Lincoln was defeated by a peculiar arrangement of the legislative districts, notwithstanding that he had a plurality of more than 4,000 votes over his rival. But the Illinois campaign made him President.

In 1860, he delivered a strong and eloquent speech on the vital question of slavery at the Cooper Institute in New York, and then went to New England, where he also spoke most effectively. The Chicago convention denied in its platform the right of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individual or individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, and on the third ballot nominated Lincoln as the Republican candidate. Wm. H. Seward's friends were greatly disappointed, for they had been confident of his success, particularly after he had led Lincoln on the first two ballots; but they soon became reconciled. The canvass was most enthusiastic and demonstrative, and the feeling all over the country was that we were on the eve of a crisis. Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, Breckenbridge 72, John Bell 39, and Douglas 12.

When Lincoln had taken his seat, seven States had formally seceded, and seven more were contemplating secession. The North was, thanks to the administration of Buchanan, deprived of all the requirements of war; the small army and navy had been purposely scattered; the treasury was empty. The free States had scarcely decided what course to take, when the attack by South Carolina on Sumter forced civil war upon them. Then they were unanimous in raising money and men; they were ablaze with patriotism; they were as belligerent as the

South, though less boastful and confident. For four years war raged fiercely, success alternating with defeat. There were many despondent hours and dark days, and the President was urged to various measures for the good of the country, which he declined. Fault was found with him in various quarters; he was termed slow, obstinate, wrong-headed; but the end proved his consummate wisdom. He was a born leader of men. He understood his fellow-countrymen, the drift of events, and the needs of the time as no one else understood them. He steadily refused to proclaim emancipation until the occasion was ripe (September 22, 1862), and he was the man who knew when that would be.

The Fugitive Slave Law was repealed in June, 1864, and, about that date, Lincoln said in an interview: "There have been men base enough to propose to me to return our black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee, and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what may, I will keep my faith with friend and foe. My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition. So long as I am President, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this Rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the Rebellion."

The war, which had cost a million of lives, and millions on millions of money, practically closed with the fall of Richmond, April 9, 1865. But, while the popular rejoicing was at its height, the assassination of the great Presi-

dent shocked the nation, and filled its heart with mourning. No single event has, it is safe to say, ever so filled the country with anguish and a sense of bereavement. The whole people were stunned and distressed beyond expression. Lincoln had grown upon them steadily and rapidly until they had all learned to admire, to trust, to love, and to revere him. He had become to every man, woman, and child as a near and dear personal friend. He was a most exalted character, one of the noblest representatives of humanity, a credit to his kind, an almost matchless man. He was the Father of his Country as much as Washington had been. The one gave us a republic; the other preserved it, when assailed by domestic enemies. As Emerson puts it, "By his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood a heroic figure in the center of a heroic epoch."

As time goes on, his reputation will grow. We are still too near him to measure his greatness. He was such a man as nature produces only at long intervals; he was of the grandest type of men, of whom there have been few in the world. Sprung from the humblest, a mere backwoodsman, without education, training, or any kind of assistance or advantage, he learned, as by intuition, to use his native language, the greatest of all tongues, as the ripest scholars could not. In force and fitness of expression he has hardly been surpassed. His letters and speeches are models, the classics of unstudied effort, the oracles of the popular heart. Queer, raw, angular, awkward, homely of feature, no one could be long in his presence and hear him speak without feeling his unquestionable superiority. One forgot his physical defects and his strange uncouth-

ness in the power and spirit of his wonderful individuality. He was as good as he was great, as broad as he was tender. He will not be forgotten; he is unforgettable. Even if America should decline and decay, he would make it remembered. He will always be recalled as the great American. If ever mortal were, Abraham Lincoln is booked for immortality. His fame is fixed in the center of ages. The future will revere him as an ideal of humanity.

CHAPTER XLVI

ANDREW JOHNSON AND ULYSSES S. GRANT, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Johnson's Early Life and Hard Struggles — A Tailor Who was more than the Ninth Part of a Man — His Views of Slavery and Secession — His Personal Courage and its Good Effects Politically — His Disagreement with Congress about Reconstruction — The Impeachment Trial — Grant in the Mexican War — His Incompetency in Business — Finding his Place in the Civil War — His Extraordinary Success in the Field — Called to Command the Army of the Potomac — His Political Mistakes and Alleged Greed of Power.

ANDREW JOHNSON'S chief claim to distinction in the future will probably be that he was elected Vice-President on the ticket with Abraham Lincoln, and that he succeeded him as President, after his assassination, April 15, 1865. His early life was very creditable, denoting what industry, energy, and perseverance may accomplish against extreme poverty, want of education, and every kind of obstacle. Born at Raleigh, N. C., December 29, 1808, he learned the trade of a tailor,— his father, who died when he was a child, had been a constable, a sexton, and a porter,— and followed it for many years at the little town of Greenville, Tenn. He was a



THE LIBRARY IN THE WHITE HOUSE.



ragged urchin, a street Arab, until he was ten years old, supported by the manual labor of his mother, who belonged to that most unfortunate class known as the poor whites of the South. He could not even read then; indeed, he did not learn the alphabet until some time after. At eighteen, he married a girl of intelligence and considerable education, who became his instructor, reading to him while he worked at his humble calling, and teaching him in the evening arithmetic, geography, and history.

He gained considerable influence over mechanics and manual laborers, and by the time he was of age had taken quite an interest in politics, to which he adhered through life. He ardently espoused their cause, and arrayed himself against the rich and ruling class, so strong and arrogant in the days of slavery. After filling several small local offices, he was chosen to the lower house of the legislature. He was then twenty-seven, and proclaimed himself a Democrat of the Jacksonian school. In 1840 he took the stump for Martin Van Buren against Harrison, and became a ready and popular speaker with the kind of people he addressed. He was very fond of alluding to the fact of his being a mechanic and a wholly self-made man,—he never recovered from the habit,—and these constant allusions, whether in good taste or not, won over the common people. In 1843 he was sent by the Democrats to Congress, and kept there for ten years, and in 1857 he was elected to the United States Senate.

In regard to slavery, his views were those of a Southerner and a Democrat. He accepted it, and believed it protected by the Constitution, although he did not think it would last, or that it ought to, if it should endanger the

Union. In the canvass of 1860, he supported Breckinridge, the candidate of the extreme Southerners; but when they threatened secession he opposed them, declaring any such attempt both unjust and madly foolish. He maintained that they should contend for their rights in the Union, not out of it; that to secede would ruin whatever prospects they might have. He boasted that he had voted and spoken against Lincoln, and spent money to prevent his election. But as time went on, he grew more and more inimical to the doctrine of State rights, and the action of the secession party. One day, a mob entered the railway car in which he was returning home, for the purpose of lynching him; but when he drew his pistol, the mob retired in disorder. Johnson was, personally, very brave, as he had often proved, and his bravery, doubtless, preserved him from frequent assaults. The most furious rebels had a sense of prudence which prevented them from attacking a man they hated, when they knew he would defend himself desperately. Not daring to molest him, they were contented to burn him in effigy, which pleased them, and did him no harm. His wife and child were driven from their home, and his nine slaves confiscated. Having been appointed Military Governor of Tennessee by Lincoln, he discharged his difficult and dangerous duties ably and fearlessly, exercising a most favorable influence in the State.

Elected Vice-President in 1864, he was at first very severe on the enemies of the government, but afterward changed his policy to one of conciliation, which rendered him very unpopular in the North. He became President at Lincoln's death, and was soon involved with Congress

because he was inimical to their views of reconstruction and the rights of freedmen. He vetoed various acts, which were passed over his head, and put himself in so antagonistic a position to the body that its members decided to impeach him. Charged, among other offenses, with violating the act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices — he had suspended Secretary Stanton from the war office without the consent of the Senate — he was formally impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. At the close of the trial, thirty-five Senators voted him guilty, and nineteen not guilty; and as a two-thirds vote was required to convict, Johnson escaped by just one vote. He declared, in his defense, that his policy of reconstruction had been outlined and agreed upon by President Lincoln and his cabinet, and that Stanton himself had pronounced the tenure-of-office act unconstitutional. His undignified, inconsistent, and intemperate course had forfeited the esteem in which the nation had held him, and he went out of office with general approval. Still seeking place and power, he was elected United States Senator in January, 1875; but he died, at sixty-six, the next July, of paralysis. Andrew Johnson was one of the men who had lived too long for his own fame or for his country's good.

ULYSSES S. GRANT. .

Ulysses S. Grant was a notable instance of a man who does not find the work he is best fitted for until his youth has passed. But for the Civil war, and the opportunities it gave him of displaying his military talents, it is entirely probable that he would have been unrecognized and obscured. If any one had predicted, on the election of

Lincoln, that Grant would be one of the greatest generals of the war and President of the United States, he would have been laughed at. No one seems to have suspected that Grant was in any way remarkable until he had demonstrated it by deeds. It is, indeed, doubtful if he had ever suspected it himself. But he was so quiet and reticent that it will never be known exactly what opinion Grant entertained of Grant. It may be that he was more surprised than anybody else when he made the discovery of his own heroship. He may have questioned his own identity or have thought, like the Irishman, that he had been changed during the night.

Grant was, as his name indicates, of Scotch extraction, but remotely. His parents were both Pennsylvanians, though he was a native of Point Pleasant, Clermont county, Ohio, having been born April 27, 1822. Having received a partial education at a common school, he entered West Point as a cadet at seventeen, and was graduated four years later, standing twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine, which is not a flattering record. He went with his regiment as lieutenant to Mexico, and distinguished himself in divers engagements, having been brevetted captain for gallantry at Chapultepec. After the capture of the City of Mexico, he returned with his regiment, married Julia T. Dent of St. Louis, sister of one of his classmates, and at thirty-two resigned his commission. He went upon a farm belonging to his father-in-law, near St. Louis; he was a real-estate agent in that city, and a clerk for his father, then a leather merchant at Galena, Ill., but did not prosper. He appeared to be unpractical, indolent, careless, and was generally regarded as a ne'er-do-well. It was said that he was

never able to provide for his family, which would have come to want but for his father-in-law, who often regretted that his daughter was the wife of so incompetent a person.

When the Civil war had broken out, he was one of the first to enlist, and was elected captain of a company of Illinois volunteers, who reported for duty at Springfield. He was afterwards made colonel of an Illinois regiment, the Twenty-first, and became in two months a brigadier. His first battle was at Belmont, Mo., claimed by both sides, where he had a horse shot under him. In conjunction with the gunboats he ascended the Tennessee, and Fort Henry fell into our hands, but mainly through the flotilla. He attacked Fort Donelson on the Cumberland and forced it to surrender, February 15, 1862, with some fourteen thousand prisoners. This, the first great success of the war for the Union army, filled the North with enthusiasm, gave Grant a high reputation and the rank of major-general. General Albert Sidney Johnston attacked Grant April 6th, at Shiloh, on the Tennessee, with far superior force, drove back the Union troops, and took several thousand prisoners. The next day, Grant, having combined with General Buell, renewed the fight and won a victory, General Johnston being killed. After a siege of six weeks, he took Vicksburg — July 4, 1863,— and thirty thousand prisoners. This brilliant achievement turned the admiring eyes of the North upon him, and advanced him to the rank of major-general in the regular army. The following November he defeated Bragg at Missionary Ridge, near Chattanooga, and revealed himself as the proper man to take charge of the Army of the Potomac, which had never achieved any permanent success, but had experienced any number of re-

verses. His repeated and bloody engagements in Virginia (he was the only general of the Potomac who had ever forced and continued the fighting) until he had obliged Lee to evacuate Richmond, and then to surrender at Appomattox, are too well-known to require recapitulation. Every honor was heaped on Grant; he had conquered peace; he had crushed the Rebellion; he had preserved the republic. It was thought fitting, therefore, to put him at the head of the government, and he was elected, 1868, the eighteenth President, against Horatio Seymour, receiving two hundred and fourteen electoral votes, and his competitor eighty.

Grant being in harmony with his cabinet and the majority of Congress, which Johnson had not been, the reconstruction of the States, lately in rebellion, steadily advanced. He declared himself in favor of the Fifteenth Amendment, forbidding the disfranchisement of any person on account of race or color; and the machinery of the government, disordered by the obstinacy of the previous Executive, again ran smoothly. Grant was re-elected in 1872 against Horace Greeley, who had obtained the nomination of the Democrats as well as of the Liberal Republicans, greatly dissatisfied with Grant's administration. While they regarded some of Grant's measures as wise, they regarded other measures as very unwise. They had no reason, they said, to believe that a mere soldier, who had had no knowledge and no experience in political life, should be an acceptable President. He had been nominated on account of his supposed availability, which had been proved, and for that reason he was again put forward. His second term was more censured than the first. Nobody ques-

tioned his integrity or patriotism — these had been repeatedly tested in the field — but he often seemed indifferent and obstinate. He was sharply criticized for his alleged excessive attachment to unworthy and unprincipled men whom he ranked as his friends. His confidence in them was pronounced excessive; he would believe, it was said, nothing against them; would not listen to those who wished for his own good and the good of the country to open his eyes. It would seem that Grant was not a judge of men in the civil service, however keen he was in the military field. If he had been, he would not and could not have selected for office persons who constantly abused his trust, and filled his administration with scandals. Fidelity to friends may be an admirable trait in private citizens, but such fidelity in high officials, particularly when their friends are charged with being totally undeserving, is apt to become mischievous, and is always dangerous.

Grant has been criticised too, for what has been called his lust of power. Many Republicans turned against him because of his desire for a third term. While there is no law against a third term, except the unwritten law which custom and precedent have made, the general feeling in the community is earnestly opposed to it. Grant's advocates asserted for months that he did not want it, but that it would be superfluous and foolish for him to decline what had not been offered. Nevertheless, the outward indications were directly otherwise, and the Chicago convention of 1880 made it plain that he was once more a candidate of the most uncompromising and contumacious kind. This was pointed out by the Independents as a corroboration of their opinion, that Grant was greedy of gain and of-

fice, and that he felt, because he had beaten the rebels, as if the presidency were his by right, and the nation could not do too much for him and his. They cited as evidence his willingness to take presents of any sort from anybody and everybody, and their energy of assertion, whether right or wrong, unquestionably injured Grant in many quarters. It was said by those Independents and others that but for the disgraceful failure of the firm in which the General was a partner, his name would again have been presented and urged at the convention of 1884. It was never mentioned, and Grant's bitterest opponents now admit that the third-term ghost is forever laid. Grant's connection with Grant & Ward was most unfortunate, and while nobody had the hardihood to attempt to implicate him in its rascalities, and while events proved that he was not implicated, but was the victim, his ignorance of the character of the business of the house in which he was a partner gave color to the charges of his unreserved faith in unworthy men, and of his defective judgment concerning them. But when everything had been said, the fact remained that General Grant continued to be widely esteemed, and to excite sincere sympathy on account of his financial adversities from which a much inferior, though different order of man, would have been protected. Despite the mistakes of which he was accused in public life and out of it, the general feeling was that he had put the nation under a debt of gratitude which it never can repay.

As the incidents in his misadventure in business receded into history, and the General retired from active life, a universal sympathy for him arose. Much of the criticism of him was found to be unjust. His well known generos-

ity of nature had led him to give cordial confidence to those who traded on his name and deceived him. A bill was introduced in the Senate in 1884 placing him on the retired list of the army with the rank and full pay of general, and it was passed by unanimous vote. A bill to grant him a pension of \$5,000 a year was withdrawn at his own request.

In January, 1885, he became a great sufferer from a cancerous affection of the throat. The people everywhere responded with pathetic interest to the accounts of his suffering, which he endured with patience and manly simplicity. He died at Mount McGregor, N. Y., July 23, 1885, and was buried at Riverside Park, where a magnificent tomb marks his resting place.

CHAPTER XLVII.

**RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, JAMES A. GARFIELD, AND
CHESTER A. ARTHUR, NINETEENTH, TWENTIETH,
AND TWENTY-FIRST PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED
STATES.**

**Hayes as Lawyer, Politician, and Soldier — Nominated Because
an Ohioan — The Electoral Commission — Great Outcry
against Him, but still a Creditable President — Garfield's Hard
Fight with Fortune at the Outset — Ambition to be a Canal-
Boat Captain — His Career in the Army — Leader of the
House of Representatives — His Admirable Equipment for
Political Life — His Nomination at Chicago Wholly Unex-
pected — The National Sorrow at His Assassination — Arthur
Born in a Log Cabin, and Ruling in the White House.**

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES was of New England extraction — his parents were Vermonters — though an Ohioan by birthright, having been born at the town of Delaware, October 4, 1822. His father, who was in comfortable circumstances, and had a prosperous mercantile business at Brattleboro, suddenly decided, after the war of 1812, to go west. He had a fancy for Ohio, then regarded as the remote frontier, which, indeed, it was, and after a preliminary journey of inspection, he was so well pleased with the new region that he went back and brought his family and household goods thither by



THE STATE BEDROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE.



forty days of most fatiguing travel in a covered wagon. His father, who set up a country store in the village, and conducted it profitably, died before Rutherford's birth, but left his family very well-off. The youth was graduated at Kenyon College, Gambier, at twenty, studied law, and began practice at twenty-three at Sandusky.

He afterwards removed to Cincinnati, opened an office, and married Lucy W. Webb, daughter of a physician of Chillicothe. A staunch Republican in opinion, he was chosen city solicitor, and grew prominent in local politics. Joining the Literary Club, he became a friend of a number of the members, among them Salmon P. Chase, John Pope, and Edward F. Noyes, who afterward obtained a celebrity in the field and in the councils of the nation. At the first call for troops, the Literary Club formed a military company with the name, Burnett Rifles, and offered its services to the government. Not less than seventy-five members became commissioned officers, more than half of these being lawyers. Hayes was made major of the Twenty-third Ohio infantry, of which Stanley Matthews was lieutenant-colonel, and William S. Rosecrans colonel, and was assigned to duty in West Virginia. He was very energetic in campaigning, was wounded at South Mountain, and at the close of October was appointed a brigadier, and early in 1865 a major-general by brevet for gallant conduct in the field, especially at Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek. In the autumn of 1864, he was sent to Congress from one of the Cincinnati districts, and was sent back two years later. Although he seldom participated in debate, he performed a deal of hard work, and was of more value than many of the glib talkers in the House. Having been

chosen governor in 1867 against Judge Thurman, Democrat, he resigned his seat to go to Columbus, and was re-elected two years later.

About this time a rich uncle, Sardis Birchard, died and left him a handsome property. In 1875, having again been put forward as Governor, because it was considered very important that the Republicans should carry Ohio, he received a majority of 5,544 over William Allen. This naturally introduced him as a candidate for the presidency, and the Ohio Republican convention in March, 1876, recommended his nomination. At the National convention in Cincinnati in June, before which Blaine and Roscoe Conklyn were most prominent, it was found impossible to nominate either of them; consequently the opponents of Blaine united on Hayes, and on the seventh ballot gave him 384 votes; Blaine getting 351, and Benjamin H. Bristow 21. In the returns of the November elections, Samuel J. Tilden, it will be remembered, had 184 electoral votes, and Hayes 172 that were unquestioned. The votes of Florida and Louisiana, and one of the votes of Oregon were in dispute on different grounds between the parties. There was much excitement over this, and there seemed to be no way of settling the matter. Finally, it was agreed that the decision should be left to a commission of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Judges of the Supreme Court. Three of the Senators were to be Republicans and two Democrats, three of the Representatives Democrats and two Republicans. Four Judges, two of each party, were elected, and these were to name a fifth, who was a Republican. Thus the commission stood eight Republicans to seven Democrats, and they all voted strictly

in accordance with their party, declaring Hayes elected over Tilden by one vote, and he, Hayes, was duly inaugurated nineteenth President of the United States.

There was a great Democratic outcry that Hayes had not been honestly elected, and he was roundly abused for two years. But he preserved a firm, dignified demeanor, and conducted his administration to a creditable close. It was the fashion to ridicule him as unfit for the position; but the facts showed nothing of the kind. He was not a great or a brilliant man — few of our Presidents have been — but he was honest, modest, and conscientious in his high office, and was fully entitled to the esteem of unbiased citizens, which he won.

His lofty purpose was never questioned, and after his retirement from the Presidency, when he returned to his quiet old home at Fremont, Ohio, he was the recipient of many honors. Much of his time was devoted to benevolent enterprises. As McKinley once said of him, “No Ex-President ever passed the period of his retirement from the executive chair to the grave with more dignity, self-respect, or public usefulness.” He died on January 17, 1893.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

James A. Garfield was another of the self-made men who have become Presidents of the United States, although there was no more likelihood in his youth of such an occurrence than of his becoming the Mikado of Japan. Although self-made, he was better made than the great majority of men who are so called. He secured a regular education, and achieved scholarship in the teeth of the most formidable difficulties by a degree of industry, energy, and perse-

verance that is seldom equaled. He nobly won all the prizes that were his. They did not fall to his lot: he wrested them from reluctant fortune.

He was from Orange township, Cuyahoga county, Ohio — Ohio has become the Northern mother of Presidents — having been born there November 19, 1831. Some of his biographers aver that he was of noble English descent. His father, a native of Worcester, N. Y., had emigrated and made what he considered a home in the primeval forest, cutting down the trees, and building a log cabin for his family. To that uninviting place, four children had been bidden, James being the youngest — they might not have come voluntarily — and participated with their parents in the desperate struggle for existence, inevitable in such a region. Everything was of the rudest. They lived little better than savages. The cabin was without windows or doors, — holes serving for the purpose — and two or three acres of cleared land furnishing the grain, and the woods the game on which they subsisted. In such an abode the future President cut wood, dug up stumps, watched cattle, and tilled land until he was twelve years old. His father died when he was a baby, and he might have starved except for his elder brother and his mother — her maiden name was Eliza Ballou — who labored night and day to keep the wolf from the door. A relative of Abram Garfield, who lived in the neighborhood, pitied their poverty, and aided them to the extent of his limited ability.

James does not seem to have been different from other boys. He showed no precocious talents, or, in fact, talents of any sort until he had reached his teens. His first am-

bition was to be the captain of a canal boat; but he never got any further than to drive a mule on the tow-path on the Ohio canal. He was fond of reading, and, as he went to Cleveland frequently to sell wood or buy provisions, he had opportunities to get books. A nomadic teacher and preacher whom he had met, inspired him with a desire for education, and by practicing all sorts of self-denial, he was enabled to attend an academy in the adjoining township of Chester. In one of the classes there, he made the acquaintance of Lucretia Rudolph, who afterwards became his wife. He subsequently went to the Eclectic Institute, now Hiram College, where he was fitted for Williams College, being graduated at twenty-five. Returning to Hiram, he taught there for a while, and was for a short time appointed its President. He also studied law, of course — nearly every public man in the republic is or has been a lawyer — and was admitted to the bar. Politics likewise engaged his attention, and he was sent by the Republicans to the State senate, where he exhibited decided ability.

At the beginning of the war, he entered the field as colonel of the 42d Ohio volunteers, and was ordered to Kentucky. He defeated Humphrey Marshall at Paintville with a much inferior force, and drove him out of the State, receiving therefor a brigadiership at an earlier age — thirty — than any other Union soldier. He afterward served at Shiloh, Corinth, and in Alabama, and in 1863 was appointed chief of staff of the army of the Cumberland, under Rosecrans. For meritorious conduct at Chickamauga he was made a major-general. He went to Congress the same year; was re-elected eight times, and after Blaine had been transferred to the Senate — 1876 — he was acknowl-

edged to be the Republican leader of the House. Garfield had become a diligent student and a tireless worker, and did such excellent work on committees as to earn a national reputation. No man in the country advanced more intellectually from the time he entered Congress until he stepped into the Executive mansion. He was by temperament, training, and ambition a leader. He appeared to be at the time of his death the national chief of the Republican party, and he would no doubt have kept the place, had he lived. He was an able speaker, acquainted with finance, railways, the public needs, and such political questions, not to speak of his knowledge of human nature, as a man in his position ought to be, and he went to the bottom of things.

In January, 1880, he was elected to the national Senate from Ohio, and at the National convention in June, which he attended as a delegate, he was nominated to the presidency on the thirty-sixth ballot. Having gone to Chicago to support John Sherman, he had no thought of his own nomination, for he was not a candidate. Grant and Blaine were most conspicuous before the convention, and most of Grant's opponents at the last went over to Garfield. He received in November the votes of nearly all the northern States. No one can forget the sad day when Guiteau, from anger at not getting an office, and from morbid love of notoriety, shot the President, or the still sadder day when he died. The eighty days in which his life trembled in the balance, were days of such anxiety, compassion, and sorrow throughout the land as had never before been felt. And when he breathed his last, the whole

republic mourned as if it had sustained a personal bereavement of the nearest and dearest.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Chester A. Arthur was the fourth Vice-President who became President by the death of the Chief Magistrate, and two of the deaths, strange to say, have been assassinations in a land that has an instinctive horror of assassins. Before William Henry Harrison's decease, it used to be said by politicians, "It matters little whom we nominate for Vice-President. A Vice-President is nothing but President of the Senate; he can do no harm, and very little good. Almost any man will answer for that office." The experience of fifty odd years has taught us the contrary. We have learned that an American President is as mortal as any of his fellows, and that Vice-Presidents are very uncertain. Not one of the Vice-Presidents, Arthur excepted, redeemed the expectations formed of them; and two of them rendered themselves odious to the party that had put them in power. Fillmore, the best of the three before Arthur, made himself so unpopular by approving of the Fugitive Slave Law that he never could have been elected again. But Arthur gained a repute at the head of the nation which he certainly did not have as the holder of the second place. When nominated, he was not generally approved; he was believed to be too much of a politician, and too little else. It was understood that he had been put on the ticket with a view to carrying New York, and that this constituted his principal claim. Following his election, his rampant "stalwartism," his over-anxiety to serve Conkling at Albany, after his resignation

from the Senate, was harshly and justly commented on. But when Garfield died, he acted with delicacy and discretion, and so acted to the end. His views proved to be broad and statesman-like, his bearing dignified, his policy enlightened. Nobody will say that he was not a good President. He went out of office with honors that, when he entered it, were not his. This is no light praise. And more; he removed to a degree the doubt and apprehension that have been associated with vice-presidential succession.

Arthur was the son of a Baptist clergyman from the North of Ireland, who had settled in eastern Canada, and had, with unconscious forecast, removed just across the border, to give his eldest boy a geographical chance to be President of the United States. He was born at the hamlet of Fairfield in a log cabin; was one of five children, whom his father, preaching for \$350 a year in an old barn, could hardly afford to have. But families were not then regarded financially, nor were they the dispensable luxuries that they are now, particularly in large and expensive cities. The poor clergyman was obliged to eke out his necessary expenses by manual labor in field or shop, and even when his circumstances improved was but an itinerant pulpiteer, continually perplexed with making both ends meet.

Chester Arthur, who was a polished man of society, and noted as an elegant dinner-giver, must have contrasted sometimes the sumptuousness of these days with the Spartan plainness of the days of his boyhood, spent in the rude schoolhouse of the rural districts of the time. He was only eighteen when he was graduated at Union College,

Schenectady. After teaching a while in his native State, he was admitted to the bar at twenty-eight, and settled in New York city. His first case that made any noise was the Lemmon Slave case, in which he was attorney for the people, and Wm. M. Evarts leading counsel on the same side. They maintained that eight slaves, whom their master, Jonathan Lemmon of Virginia, had brought to New York, were made free by his voluntary act. Charles O'Connor and Henry L. Clinton appeared for Lemmon; but after various appeals, Arthur and Evarts' position was sustained. Arthur acted as counsel for a colored woman who had been expelled (1856) from the horse-cars on account of her color, and gained a verdict for damages for his client, which secured equal rights for negroes in all public vehicles. One of the first Republicans, he always acted with the party. He was appointed Engineer-in-Chief by Governor Morgan in 1861, and, the year following, quartermaster-general of the forces of the State (whence his title), and discharged his duties admirably. For seven years he was collector of the port of New York, and was removed by Hayes, who thought the office was too much used as a political power in the state. He then resumed the practice of law, but was always a very active,—perhaps too active,—politician.

At the death of Garfield, he became the twenty-first President of the republic. In a short address he declared his intention to continue the policy of his predecessor. The members of Garfield's cabinet who had sent in their resignations to the new President were requested to hold over until the meeting of Congress. The resignation of Attorney-General McVeagh was accepted in November, and Benja-

min H. Brewster was called to the place. Gradually all the members of Garfield's cabinet retired except Robert T. Lincoln, who continued Secretary of War to the close of Arthur's term.

The administration was uneventful but successful. It marked the establishment of the Civil Service commission, and the enactment of the tariff of 1883. At the Republican National convention in 1884, the satisfactory administration of Arthur made him a strong candidate, receiving on the first ballot 278 votes and 207 on the fourth and last, on which James G. Blaine secured 541. He retired to his home in New York in 1885, upon the inauguration of Cleveland, and died November 18, 1886.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

GROVER CLEVELAND, TWENTY-SECOND PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES, BENJAMIN HARRISON,
TWENTY-THIRD, AND GROVER CLEVELAND AGAIN.


Cleveland's Luck — Inconspicuous as a Lawyer — No National Reputation till 1882 — A Phenomenal Majority — His Nomination for the Presidency — New York the Pivot — His Famous Tariff Message, the Mills Bill and Defeat — Harrison the Gallant General, Great Senator, and Successful President — The McKinley Bill and Reciprocity — The Sherman Act — A Campaign of Misrepresentation — Cleveland Again — Great Democratic Prospects and their Collapse.

STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND, or, as he has always officially signed his name, simply Grover Cleveland, became a Democratic presidential candidate by virtue of some mistakes made by the Republicans in New York, and he became President by virtue of a plurality of 1,027 in the pivotal vote of New York, after an exciting contest. Until Cleveland was elected mayor of Buffalo in 1881, he was hardly known in New York. Until he was elected Governor of New York, he was hardly known anywhere else. In both cases he received greater aid from certain fortunate circumstances than from any record he had himself made.

He was born in Caldwell, Essex county, N. J., March 18, 1837. Three years later his father, a Presbyterian

minister, received a call to Fayetteville, N. Y., and the young man received his common school education there, and then took an academic course in Clinton. At the age of sixteen he was thrown on his own resources by the death of his father, and he became a bookkeeper and assistant teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind. Two years later he started westward, intending to settle in Cleveland and study law. But his uncle in Buffalo, William F. Allen, enlisted him as a law student in a prominent firm there. He was admitted to practice in 1859, and soon, in a small way, began to take part in politics. He became assistant district attorney for Erie county in 1863, and was defeated as the Democratic candidate for district attorney in 1865. He made no noteworthy progress in his profession, but in 1870 was elected sheriff, a position of considerable political importance. At the conclusion of his term he returned to his practice of law, his firm becoming in 1881 Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard, and the same year his political influence made him the Democratic candidate for mayor.

The Republican administration at Buffalo had become unsatisfactory to many Republicans of an independent turn of mind, and Cleveland was elected. He made some reputation as a veto mayor, and secured the title of a reformer. He was never popular with the workers. In the contest for the Democratic nomination for governor of New York in 1882, he received the support of those opposed to the old Democratic methods, and as the Republican party in the State had become divided by factional strife, there was strong dissatisfaction with the Republican candidate, Charles J. Folger, then Secretary of the



Treasury under President Arthur. By this Cleveland profited, and was elected governor by the remarkable majority of 192,854. Although he had the reputation of making a good governor, it was his phenomenal majority and the fact that so many Independents who afterwards became styled as Mugwumps supported him that he became the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1884. Against the gallant and brilliant leader of the Republicans, James G. Blaine, these Independents turned in large numbers and Cleveland was elected, as we have said, by a close vote in New York. Votes in some of the districts of New York city were held back for some time, and when they were at last received they showed Democratic majorities large enough to overcome Blaine's lead in the rest of the state.

The new Democratic administration, the first since Buchanan's, had the assistance of a Democratic House, but the Senate was Republican. Excepting his marriage, in June, 1886, to Miss Frances Folsom, a handsome and popular young lady, nothing notable occurred till at the beginning of the annual session of the Fiftieth Congress, when President Cleveland startled the country with his famous message urging that the tariff, which he declared produced "a congested national treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country," should be reduced.

It was hailed with delight by the Free Trade elements in his party and out, and was regarded as a blunder by all the wiser heads in his party. The result was the Mills bill, which passed the House of Representatives, and a substitute bill, making smaller reductions, in the Senate. Both came to nothing. President Cleveland's first term left

him stronger with the Mugwumps but strongly disliked by the "old-line" Democrats.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

The industrial interests of the country were quick to see the dangers of President Cleveland's policy. While the debate on the Mills bill was in progress, President Cleveland was renominated by acclamation, and at the Republican convention in Chicago, Benjamin Harrison of Indiana was nominated for President, and at the election carried every Northern state except New Jersey and Connecticut. The Democrats, who had held the house of Representatives in every Congress since 1875 except during the Forty-seventh, lost it in that return of the tide towards the Republicans.

Benjamin Harrison had been tried and proved in public life. He had long been regarded as a great Senator. He became one of the most successful Presidents. He was born at North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833, and his father, John Scott Harrison, was a son of General William Henry Harrison, who became President in March, 1841, and died a month later. Benjamin passed his early years on his father's farm, and received his early education mostly at Miami College, Oxford, Ohio, where he graduated in 1852, fourth in his class. After studying law in Cincinnati, he married a daughter of Rev. John Scott, D.D., of Oxford, and in 1854 settled in Indianapolis. In 1860 he was elected reporter of the Supreme court, and it was not long after that, in a political debate with Thomas A. Hendricks, he acquired a considerable reputation as a speaker.

Then he helped to raise the Seventieth Indiana regiment

and went to the front. He quickly became its colonel, served in Kentucky and Tennessee, and led the charge at Resaca, May 15, 1864, in which one-third of his command were killed or disabled, and for gallantry in that and other engagements he won a commission as brigadier-general.

After the war he resumed his law practice in Indianapolis and re-entered politics. In 1876 he was defeated for governor though running two thousand ahead of his ticket. In 1880 he was elected to the Senate, in which he was one of the most prominent members.

His administration as President was notable for its efficiency and the prosperity that attended the country. The great measure of the Fifty-first Congress was the McKinley bill, which fixed the schedules with a view to promoting the industrial independence and prosperity of the United States while enlarging the free list and initiating the great policy of commercial reciprocity. Loud were the Democratic denunciations of this tariff, but it went into effect without disturbing a single industry, and the following year the commerce of the country exceeded anything in its history. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Blaine, his Secretary of State, were instrumental in securing the Pan-American Congress, which opened up friendly commercial relations between the United States and the countries of South America.


During Harrison's administration also the Sherman silver bill was passed to meet an exigency. The Democrats largely voted for a free coinage measure, and one actually passed the Senate, but in conference Senator Sherman made a compromise which provided for the safe character of the currency to be issued.

The executive administration of the government was

conducted with marked skill and efficiency. The foreign policy was vigorous and enlightened and many restrictions that had been placed on American staples abroad were removed. During 1891 President Harrison and a party made an extended trip through the North and West, and his speeches at various places were eulogized as models of propriety and ability as an orator. Meanwhile the Democrats were busily engaged in a campaign of denunciation of the administration and the acts of Congress to convince the people that they were being taxed by an enhanced price of all they purchased because of increased tariff duties. A more systematic and thorough campaign of misrepresentation was never carried on. The elections of 1890 had shown that it was having its effect. In 1892, Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland again being candidates, the latter again moved into the White House. Ex-President Harrison returned to Indianapolis, and resumed the practice of law. He is justly considered one of the ablest men in the present generation. In the latter part of his administration, President Harrison was afflicted by the death of his wife. Early in 1896 he was married again to Mrs. Dimmick, who had long been an intimate friend of his family, and who had been devoted to his first wife.

GROVER CLEVELAND AGAIN.

For the first time in the history of the country, a President was given a second term without succeeding himself, when Grover Cleveland was inaugurated in March, 1893. The election was hailed by the Democrats as establishing their power over the government for the next twenty years. Cleveland was hailed as the creator of a new era in politics.



This time, and for the first time since the war, the Democrats controlled not only the executive department, but the legislative branches. Protection to American industries they had declared a humbug, and reciprocity a sham. The Democrats now openly declared their purpose to reform the tariff on the principle of revenue only. Mugwumps and enthusiastic young voters in the Democratic party spoke of the brightness of the future, of "the dawn of a golden era," of "trade emancipation," and all that.

President Cleveland himself is and was a great believer in himself. He had seen fortune favor him and he regarded himself as Napoleon did himself, a man of destiny. But there are clever critics at Washington and the prediction was made long before Mr. Cleveland took his oath that in less than two years President Cleveland would have his party shattered and impotent, and that he himself would stand as one of the most disastrous of Presidents. It proved to be true. Before the election took place, every loom in the country was running, every spindle humming; business was never better, bank clearings never larger, and confidence in the money of the country was undisturbed. But before the inauguration took place, the business world manifested signs of timidity, which increased rapidly.

The history of what followed is well known. It forms the basis for Republican strength and Democratic weakness in the future. In two years the Democratic victory was turned into defeat and despair. The administration's foreign policy became a reproach which few Democrats undertook to defend. Whereas under President Harrison over \$250,000,000 of the government's debt had been paid, Mr. Cleveland began early to increase the indebtedness by

issues of bonds ostensibly to restore a depleted gold reserve, but the gold eventually went to pay current expenditures which persistently exceeded receipts, especially after the ill-considered Wilson tariff law went into effect. This law, which was framed to carry out "the Cleveland theory" on the tariff, was so amended in the Senate that the President took occasion in an effort to bring the Democratic Senators to terms to denounce it as perfidious, but he allowed it to become a law. It provided more revenue than the bill he desired would have provided, but not enough. Attached to it was an odious income tax, to please the Populistic contingent, but it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The first three years abounded in manifestations of incompetence in nearly every department. Never has a single administration afforded such a grotesque collapse of "greatness." States which have been Democratic for years have become in recent elections strongly Republican. A campaign of misrepresentation was followed by an era of popular enlightenment. The policy of protection to American industries, of sound finance and of enlightened Americanism again found places in the hearts of the people.

THE END.



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